

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN

Down to the Mahomedan Conquest

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In this second edition of the "Early History of the Dekkan," I have embodied the results of fresh researches published by others and myself within the last ten years. Some of my own have, however, been laid before the public now for the first time in this book.

R G B

Poona, 10th January, 1895

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

After finishing his book on "Vaiṣnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems" in the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research, my revered father very much wanted to bring out a revised edition of his "Early History of the Dekkan." But multifarious engagements and continued ill-health prevented him from carrying it out. He asked me in his last wishes to bring out a third edition with notes and indicated what important records had been published since the last edition. I do not know how long I would have been unable to carry out this sacred task. But Chuckerty, Chatterjee & Co., who are to India what Trübner & Co. are to Europe, of their own motion made proposals to me for the publication of the book, and the result is that this new edition with Notes is now before the scholarly public long before I expected it. It is true that much new material has been available since the publication of the second edition. But the main conclusions of the book from the period of the Early Chālukyas onwards have remained unshaken, and whatever changes are now required in reconstructing the history of the earlier period have been pointed out in the Notes.

The additional notes of the present (third) edition have been given at the end, and the text and notes of the second edition have been kept intact in the body of the book. It has not, however, been found possible to adhere to the pagination of the second edition. To facilitate reference, the paging of the second edition is given in bold type in square brackets in the body of the book.

D R BHANDARKAR

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CORRECTIONS

<i>Page 38, line</i>	<i>7 from bottom, for</i>	<i>Vasishṭiputra</i>	<i>read</i>	<i>Vāsishṭiputra</i>
” 67 ” 5 ” ”	” Guṇādhyā	” Gunādhyā	”	
” 95 ” 9 ” ”	” Traikūṭaka	” Traikūṭaka	”	
” 96 ” 9 ” top	” Gurjara	” Gūjara	”	
” 99 ” 19 ” ”	” Āśaḍha	” Āshāḍha	”	
” 100 ” 23 ” ”	” Paṭṭadakal, <i>here</i> <i>as elsewhere</i>	” Paṭṭadakal	”	
” 104 ls 6 & 2 ” ”	” Brahmanism	” Brāhmaṇīsm	”	
” ” line 7 ” ”	” in the Southern	” in Southern	”	
” 106 ” 4 ” ”	” Yādū	” Yādu	”	
” 111 ” 18 ” ”	” Paiṭhan, <i>here as</i> <i>elsewhere</i>	” Paiṭhan	”	
” 117 ” 13 ” ”	” Śīlāhāra	” Śilāhāra	”	
” 130 ” 12 ” ”	” Kālanjara	” Kālañjara	”	
” 150 ” 13 ” ”	” Gaddaka, <i>here</i> <i>as elsewhere</i>	” Gadag	”	
” 180 ” 13 ” bottom	” Singhana	” Singhāpa	”	
” 184 ” 15 ” ”	” Sūktimuktavāli	” Sūktimuktāvalī	”	
” 185 ” 14 ” ”	” Sukt-, <i>here as</i> <i>elsewhere</i>	” Sukt-	”	

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN.

ADDITIONS AND FURTHER CORRECTIONS

P 62, footnote 1, add at the end, Karhîd plates recently put into my possession and not yet published

P 63, line 35, after Wîrdhâ, here as well as everywhere henceforward except in l 14, p 75, add and Karhîd and make the necessary grammatical changes

P 67, line 30, after death, add The Karhîd charter represents the fire of his prowess to have burnt the Chîlûva race

P 73, line 23, after months, add In the Bhadan grant¹ the latter is represented to have reigned for a year

P 75, lines 6 and 7, for the sentence ending with dominions, substitute He expelled the prince Rachchhamalli from the throne of the Ganga country and placed on it a person of the name of Bûtuga, or Bûtayya which name has been Sanskritized into Bhûtârya, and destroyed the Pallivas to whose race the Dantiga killed by him probably belonged

P 75, line 20, at the end add The Karhîd charter was issued in 880 Saka, i.e., 18 years after the Wîrdhî grant. It contains two stanzas more about Kîshna III than the latter, and these must in consequence be regarded as alluding to events which occurred between Saka 862 and 880. As stated therein, to consolidate his power Kîshna deprived some of his feudatories of their principalities, and granted them to others who were meritorious, some were separated from each other and others joined together. "With the idea of conquering the south, he uprooted the Chola race, placed the territory ruled over by it under his own dependents, made the kings of the Chera, Pâñâya, and other countries along with Simhala or Ceylon his tributaries, and erected a triumphal column at Re(â)mesvara." In an inscription at Atakur in the Maisur territory, dated 872 Saka, Kîshnaraâja is represented to have

¹ Published by Prof Kielhorn, Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, p 271

fought with the Chola prince Rājāditya and killed him. In this last act he was assisted by Būtuga, his Ganga feudatory mentioned above, and Gūtuga was rewarded for his services by being granted additional territory.² In a village in the Chingleput district of the Madras Presidency, which must have formed a part of the ancient kingdom of the Pallavas, there are two inscriptions dated in the seventeenth and nineteenth years of the reign of Kannaradeva, *i.e.* Krishṇadeva, in which he is spoken of as the conqueror of Kachchī or Kāñchipura the capital of the Pallavas and Tañjai identified with Tanjor (Tañjāvūr or Tañjāpura) which was the capital of the Chola princes. Another inscription at Vellore is dated in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, and there are two more containing his name in South Arcot³ which was probably included in the Chola kingdom. These facts bear out the statement in the Karhāḍ grant of his having uprooted the Chola race and held the country by placing it under his dependents, and another in this and the Wardhā grant that the Pallavas were destroyed by him. This latter event, however, took place before Śaka 862 the date of the Wardhā grant while the conquest of the Chola prince came on later. By the Karhāḍ charter which was issued on Wednesday the 13th of the dark half of Phālguna when 880 years had elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, the cyclic year being Kālayukta, Kṛishna granted,—while encamped at Melpāṭī with his victorious army for the purpose of apportioning the southern provinces among his dependents, taking charge of all the possessions of Arelesvara, and constructing temples to be dedicated to certain gods,—the village of Kankūm in the district of Karahāṭaka to the great Saiva ascetic Gīgāṇṭīśvara, who was the pupil of Isānasīva and was conversant with the Śivasiddhāntas or sacred books of the Saiva sect, for the benefit of the whole group of ascetics. It would appear from this that Saivism flourished about the district of Karhāḍ at this period.

P 78, to the dates under Krishna III add 872, 880

² Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 172-74

³ *Ib.* Vol. III, pp. 282-85

Page 10, line	5 from bottom, for Brâhmaṇa	read Brâhmaṇa
„ 23 „	24 „ top „ Mysore	„ Maisur
„ 23 „	27 from „ „ Saliyaputta	„ Satiyaputta
„ 43 „	9 „ „ „ Dakshinapatha	„ Dakshinâpatha
„ 49 „	5 „ „ „ Dakshinâpatha	„ Dakshinâpatha
„ 73 „	23 from bottom, „ Kânara	„ Kânara
„ 79 „	9 „ top „ Râshtrakûta	„ Râshtrakûṭa
„ 80 „	4 „ bottom, „ Lâṭ <i>here as elsewhere</i>	„ Lâṭa
„ 96 „	21 from top for Tajika	„ Tâjika
„ 98 „	5 „ „ <i>insert date after latest</i>	
„ III, footnote 18	„ IV	„ III
„ 120 „	ix from top „ Lâṭa	„ Lâṭa
„ 126 „	21 „ „ „ Sâhâsanka	„ Sâhasâṅka
„ 157 „	3 „ „ „ Kâkateya	„ Kâkatiya
„ 163 „	3 „ „ „ Lingâvata <i>here as elsewhere</i>	„ Lingâyata
„ 184 „	15 „ „ „ Jahlân's	„ Jahlâṇa s
„ 187 „	1 „ „ bottom „ यजार्जुन	„ यजार्जुने

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN

INTRODUCTORY

INDIA has no written history. Nothing was known till within recent times of the political condition of the country, the dynasties that ruled over the different provinces which composed it, and the great religious and social revolutions that it went through. The historical curiosity of the people was satisfied by legends. What we find of a historical nature in the literature of the country before the arrival of the Mahomedans comes to very little.

We have a chronicle of Kasmir called the *Rājatarangini*, in which, however, there is a good deal which is not supported by contemporary evidence. Now and then, a bountiful prince or minister found a poet to sing his glories, and the works thus composed, contain a good deal of historical information, though, of course, an undue praise of the patron and his ancestors is to be expected. But a few such works only have hitherto been discovered, and the oldest of them gives an account of a prince who lived in the first half of the seventh century. The literature of the Jāmas of the Svetāmbara sect contains accounts mostly of the later princes of Gujarāt and other noted personages. There are also similar accounts of the princes of Rājputāna. In the beginning or at the end of some Sanskrit works the names of the princes under whose patronage or in whose reign they were composed, are given, and

Introductory sometimes we find a long genealogy of the family to which the particular prince belonged, with some short observation with reference to each of his ancestors. Lastly, the Purânas contain genealogies of the most powerful royal families which ascend to a higher antiquity than the works noticed hitherto.

II But the information to be gathered from all these sources is extremely meagre, and there are many provinces on the history of which they do not throw any light. And the facts mentioned in them cannot be systematically arranged, or even chronologically connected, except with the assistance of other sources of information to which we shall now proceed. The invasion of Alexander the Great brought the Greeks in contact with the Hindus, and his successors in Syria kept up an intercourse with the Indian emperors for a long time. The notices of Indian persons and events contained in the writings of the Greeks, when compared with the statements occurring in the Purânas, admit, in some cases, of an easy identification, and from the known dates of the corresponding Greek persons or events, we are able to determine those of the Indian persons or events. In this manner the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty by Chandragupta has been determined to be about 322 B.C., and a good many other dates in Indian history have been ascertained. The writings of Chinese authors also throw a great deal of light on some periods of Indian history. Buddhism was introduced into China in the first century of the Christian era, and from time to time men from that country came to India as pilgrims, and some Indian Buddhists also must have found their way to China. The Chinese pilgrims wrote accounts of what they saw and did in India, and these works, which have come down to us, are

very valuable for the elucidation of Indian history. The Chinese possessed a perfect system of chronology, and the dates of the pilgrimages are useful for the purposes of the Indian antiquarian. Valuable accounts of India written by the Arabic visitors to the country in the Middle Ages have also become available.

III Another very important source, and fuller than any hitherto noticed, consists of inscriptions. Some of these are cut on stones or rocks, and others engraved on copperplates. These last are in all cases charters conveying grants of land made mostly by princes or chiefs to religious persons or to temples and monasteries. A great many of these are dated in one of the current eras. It is usual in these charters to give the pedigree of the grantor. The names of his ancestors together with some of their famous deeds are mentioned. As the authors who composed the grants cannot be expected to be impartial in their account of the reigning monarch, much of what they say about him cannot be accepted as historically true. And even in the case of his ancestors, the vague praise that we often find, must be regarded simply as meaningless. But when they are represented to have done a specific deed, such as the conquest of Harshavardhana by Pulakesi II of the early Châlukya dynasty, it must be accepted as historical, and when we have other sources available, we find the account confirmed, as Hwlan Thsang does that of Pulakesi's exploit. Even in the case of the reigning monarch, the specific deeds such as wars with neighbouring princes, which are mentioned, may be accepted as historical, though, however, legitimate doubts may be entertained as regards the reported results.

The stone-inscriptions are intended to come-

Introductory morate the dedication of a temple or monastery or any part thereof, and of works of public utility such as tanks and wells, and sometimes grants of land also A good many of these benefactions are by private individuals, but not seldom the name of the king, in whose reign the dedication was made, is given together with the year of his reign, as well as the date in the current era When it is a royal benefaction that is commemorated, we have a longer account of the reigning prince, and sometimes of his ancestors

The great pioneer in the deciphering and interpretation of inscriptions was James Prinsep, but no great progress was made after him, in this branch of antiquarian work, till the establishment of the "Indian Antiquary" and the institution of the Archaeological Survey These gave a strong impetus to it, and many scholars entered into the field with zeal Twenty years ago, it would have been impossible to write the following pages

IV I must not omit to mention old coins as a valuable source of information as to the names of the successive monarchs of a dynasty, and sometimes their dates A study of these too has led to very important results

The materials for the history of the development of Indian thought and of changes in the social condition are the whole literature itself But this is an independent inquiry with which we are not here directly concerned, and the conclusions arrived at are applicable to the whole Hindu race, and not to any particular province I have consulted general literature only in discussing points concerning the Aryan settlement of the Delian The materials used in the preparation of the other sections, which

fall under each of the four classes noticed above, are Introductory, as follows

I —Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkacharita*, Introduction to the *Vratakhaṇḍa*, Introduction to Jahalaṇa's anthology, the *Puraṇic* genealogies, and scattered notices in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Hāla's *Saptaśatī*, Vātsyāyaṇa's *Kāmasūtra*, *Kavīrahasya*, *Dīgambara* *Jaina* works—such as the *Harivamśa*, the *Uttara Purāṇa*, the *Yaśastilaka*, the *Praśnottararatnamālikā* &c—Vijñāneśvara's *Mitāksharā*, the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*, the *Basava Purāṇa*, the *Lekhapañchāśilā*, the *Śabdārṇavachandrikā*, the *Jñāneśvarī*, and a few others

II —Ptolemy's geography, the *Periplus*, Hwhan Thsang's Itinerary

III —Inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India, Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgaḍ, stone inscriptions in the Southern Maratha Country, copper-plate charters of the early Chālukyas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and other dynasties, of which we have now a large number

IV —Coins of the *Satavāhanas* found at Kolhāpur and in the lower Godāvāri district

Since the political history of the Dekkan before the advent of Mahomedans was entirely unknown before, and the difficulty of ascertaining facts is very great, my object has been to collect as many of them as possible. The absence of proportion in the space allotted to important and unimportant events due to this circumstance, will, it is hoped, be excused. This does not pretend to be a literary production, but merely a congeries of facts

SECTION I

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD "DEKKAN" AND ITS DENOTATION

[1] The word "Dakkhan" represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word Dakshina, meaning "southern," used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmadâ. The name more usually met with in Sanskrit works and elsewhere is Dakshinâpatha or "the Southern Region." That this name was in ordinary use in ancient times is shown by the fact that the author of the *Periplus* calls that portion of the country Dakhinabades.¹ In the vernacular or Prâkrt speech of the time, the Sanskrit Dakshinâpatha must have become Dakkhinâbadha or Dakkhinâvadha by the usual rules, and the Greek writer must have derived his name from this popular pronunciation. The shorter form of the name also must have been in use, since in the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, Fah-Hian,² the Chinese traveller, was told at Benares that there was a country to the south called Ta-Thsin, which word corresponds to the Sanskrit Dakshina.

Dakshinâpatha or Dakshina was the name of the whole peninsula to the south of the Narmadâ. Among the countries enumerated in the Mârkañçeya,³ Vâyu,⁴ and Mâtsva⁵ Purânas as comprised in Dakshinâpatna

Section I

Etymology
of the word
"Dekkan"

[1] Indicates page 1 of the original edition

¹ Indian Antiquary, VIII 143

² Travels of Fah-Hian by S. Beal, 139

³ Chap. 57 Verse 45, Edition Bibliotheca Indica. The reading of the second line, however, is wrong. It ought to be, Pandyâs cha Keralâs chaiva Cholâh Kulyâs tathaiva cha, as it is in the manuscript I have consulted.

⁴ Chap. 45 Verse 124, Edition Bibliotheca Indica

⁵ Chap. 112 Verse 46, Poona Lithographed Edition

HISTORY OF

Section I are those of the Cholas, Pândyas, and Keralas, which were situated in the extreme south of the peninsula, and correspond to the modern provinces of Tanjor, Madura, and Malabâr. In the Mahâbhârata, however, Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pându princes, is represented in his career of conquest to have gone to Dakshinâpatha after having conquered the king of the Pândvas.⁶ This would show that the country of the Pândyas was not included in Dakshinâpatha. Again, the rivers Godâvari and others springing from the Sahyâdri are spoken of in the Vâyu Purâna as rivers of Dakshinâpatha,⁷ while the Narmadâ and the Tâpi are not so styled, whence it would seem that the valleys of those rivers were not included in Dakshinâpatha. The word thus appears not to have been always used in the same sense. In modern times it is the name of the country between the Narmadâ on the north and a variable line along the course of the Kriśhnâ to the south, exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east. It is thus almost identical [2] with the country called Mahârâshtra or the region in which the Marâthi language is spoken, the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghâts and the sea being excluded. A still narrower definition is that which excludes from this tract the valleys of the Narmadâ and the Tâpi, and to this extent we have seen that there is authority for it in the Vâyu Purâna. Thus the word Deccan expresses the country watered by the upper Godâvari and that lying between that river and the Kriśhnâ. The name Mahârâshtra also seems at one time to have been restricted to this tract. For that country is, in the Purânas⁸ and other works,

⁶ Sâhîpatravî, Chap. 21 Verse 17, Tomlin's Edition.

⁷ Chap. 22 Verse 104, Ed. Pih Ind.

⁸ See the chapter of the three Purânas referred to in the notes on page 1.

distinguished on the one hand from Aparânta or Section I Northern Konkan, and from the regions on either side of the Narmadâ and the Tâpî inhabited by the Pulindas and Sabaras, as well as from Vîdarbha on the other. In a comparatively modern work entitled Ratnakosa,⁹ Mahârâshtra, Vîdarbha, Tâpî-taṭa-deśa and Narmadâ-taṭa-deśa (i.e., the countries on either side of those rivers), and the Konkan are spoken of as distinct from each other. The Dekkan or Mahârâshtra in this the narrowest sense of the word forms the subject of the present notice.

⁹ Prof Aufrecht's Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 352

SECTION II

SETTLEMENT OF THE ĀRYAS IN THE DEKKAN

Section II

Settlement
of the
Āryas in
the
Dekkan

[3] It is now a recognised fact that the Āryas who came to India were at first confined to eastern Afghanistan and the Panjāb. Thence they emigrated to the east and for a time the easternmost province occupied by them was Bramhāvarta or their holy land, lying between the rivers Sarasvatī the modern Sarasuti, and Dṛishadvatī,¹ a stream in the vicinity, that is, the country about Thanesar. There the system of castes and orders and the sacrificial religion seem to have been fully developed. Thence they spread to the east and the south, and gradually occupied the whole country between the Himālaya and the Vindhya. This last mountain range must for a long time have formed the southern boundary of their settlements. For the name Ārvāvarta or the region occupied by the Āryas, as explained by Manu² and even by Patañjali,³ the author of the Mahābhāshya on Pāṇini's grammar, signified exclusively the part of the country situated between those mountain ranges. The Vindhya, which by its height seemed to obstruct the passage of the sun, was impassable to them. The name Pāriyātra was given to the more northern and western portion of the range from which the rivers Chambal and Betvā take their rise, probably because it was situated on the boundary of their Yātrā or range of communication. After a while, however, the sage Agastya, in poetical

¹ Manu, II, 17

² Manu, II, 23

³ Patañjali's Mahābhāshya under Pāṇini, II, 4, 10

language, bade the mountain not to grow high, that is, crossed it and established an Âsrama or hermitage to the south and thus led the way to other settlements. The first or oldest Âryan province in the southern country must have been the Vîdarbhas or the Berârs. For in the Râmâyana when Sugriva the monkey-king sends his followers to the different quarters in search of Râma's wife Sîtâ and Râvaṇa her ravisher, he directs them to go among other southern countries to Vîdarbhas, Rîchikas, and Mahishakas, and also to Daṇḍakâranya (the forest of Daṇḍakâ) and the river Godâvari⁴. This shows that while the country about the Godâvari, that is, the Dekkan or Mahârâshtra in the narrowest sense of the terms, was a forest, Vîdarbha was an inhabited country. In the Mahâbhârata also Agastya is represented to have given a girl that he produced by his miraculous powers to the king of Vîdarbha, and after she had grown to be a woman demanded her of the king in marriage⁵. In the Râmâyana, Râma is represented to have lived for a long time in Daṇḍakâranya, at a place called Pañchavaṭî situated on the banks [4] of the Godâvari about two yojanas from the hermitage of Agastya⁶. That this Daṇḍakâranya was the modern Mahârâshtra is shown by the fact stated above, that it was watered by the river Godâvari, and by several others. According to the Hindu ritual it is necessary when beginning any religious ceremony to pronounce the name of the country in which it is performed. The Brâhmans in Mahârâshtra do not utter the name Mahârâshtra but Daṇḍakâranya with the word *desa* or "country" attached to it. In the introduction to

Vîdarbha,
the first
Âryan pro-
vince in the
South

Daṇḍak-
âranya, the
same as
Mahâ-
râshtra

⁴ Râmâyana, IV Chap 41, Bombay Edition

⁵ Mahâbhârata, Bombay Edition, III Chap 96, 97

⁶ Râmâyana, III 13, 13 Bom Ed

Section II Hemâdri's *Vratakhaṇḍa*, a work written more than six hundred years ago, Devagiri, the modern Daulat-âbâd, is spoken of as situated in a district on the confines of Dandakâraṇya Nâsik claims to be the Pañchavaṭī where Râma lived But the poet could hardly be expected to have brought his hero from the Vindhya to such a remote westerly place as Nâsik The river Godâvarî must, from the description occurring in the Râmâyaṇa as well as in Bhavabhûti's *Uttara Râmacharita*, have been wide at Râma's Pañchavaṭī It could hardly have been so at Nâsik, which is very near its source On the other hand, "the region about the northern part of the Sahyâdri through which flowed the river Godâvarî and in which Govardhana was situated" is in the Purâṇas represented as "the most charming on earth, and there, to please Râma, the sage Bhâradvâja caused heavenly trees and herbs to spring up for his wife's enjoyment, and thus a lovely garden came into existence "⁷ In the Mârkaṇḍeya, Govardhana is spoken of as a town, but the Vâyu and the Mâtsya seem to mean it to be a mountain This Govardhana must, from the given position, be the same as the village of that name near Nâsik, and thus the three Purâṇas must be understood as supporting the identification of Pañchavaṭī with Nâsik

The
complete
subjugation
of Mahâ-

But though Mahârâshtra was the last country occupied by the Indian Âryas, their subjugation of it was no less thorough than that of all the northern

⁷ Mârkaṇḍeya, Chap. 57 Verses 34-35, Vâyu, Chap. 45 Verses 112-114, and Mâtsya, Chap. 112 Verses 37-39 The passage, however, is corrupt The three Purâṇas evidently derive their reading from the same original, but the text has been greatly corrupted The most ancient version of it seems to be that in the Vâyu

countries Here, as there, they drove some of the Section II aborigines to the fastnesses of mountains and jungles, râshtra by the Aryas, proved by the prevalent dialect of the country and incorporated the rest into their own society The present Marâthî language is as much an offshoot of the Sanskrit as the other languages of Northern India The ancient representatives of these dialects —the Mahârâshtrî, the Saurasenî, and the Mâgadhi, as well as an earlier form of speech, the Pâli—show extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, reducible however to a few general laws These cannot be accounted for by the natural operation of the causes which bring about the decay of a language spoken throughout its history by the same race For, this operation is slow and must be in continuance for a very long time in order to produce the wide-going phonetic changes which we observe in those Prâkrit dialects, as they are called This long-continued process must at the same time give rise to a great many changes in other respects Such, [5] however, we do not find in those dialects, and they do not in those respects show a very wide departure from the Sanskrit The extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, therefore, must be accounted for by the supposition that the language had to be spoken by races whose original tongue it was not Those alien races could not properly pronounce the Sanskrit words used by the conquering Aryas, and thus the Prâkrit forms of Sanskrit words represent their pronunciation of them A few sounds unknown to Sanskrit as well as some words not traceable to that language are also found in the Prâkritis, and these point to the same conclusion It thus appears that the Indian Aryas in their progress through the country came in contact with alien races, which were incorporated with their society and learnt their language, at the same time that they preserved some of their original words and

Prâkrit
Dialects

Section II

The subjugation of
the country
farther
South,
partial

phonetic peculiarities⁸ This was the state of things in the north down to the Marâthâ country But farther south and on the eastern coast, though they penetrated there and communicated their own civilization to the aboriginal races inhabiting those parts, they were not able to incorporate them thoroughly into their own society and to root out their languages and their peculiar civilization On the contrary, the Âryas had to learn the languages of those races and to adopt a portion at least of their civilization Thus the Kanarese, the Telugu, the Tamil, and the other languages now spoken in Southern India are not derived from the Sanskrit but belong altogether to a different stock, and hence it is also that southern art is so different from the northern The reason why the result of the Âryan irruption was so different in Southern India from what it was in the north appears to be that when the Âryas penetrated to the south there existed already well-organized communities and kingdoms In the passage in the Râmâyana, referred to above, the monkey-soldiers are directed to go to the countries of the Andhras (Telugu people), the Pândyas, the Cholas, and the Keralas, in the south, and are told that they will there see the gate of the city of the Pândyas adorned with gold and jewels And these races, their country, and their kings are alluded to in other Sanskrit works, as will be noticed hereafter In the north, however, at the time of the Âryan invasion, the condition of the country must have been similar to that of Dandakâranya, which is represented in the Râmâyana as a forest infested by Râkshasas or wild tribes who disturbed the religious rites of the Brâhmaṇ sages And

⁸ These points I have developed in my Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prâkrit languages derived from it, Jour B R A S Vol XVI pp 290-91

throughout the older portion of Sanskrit literature, Section II which is to be referred to the times when the Âryas were gradually progressing from the Panjâb, the wild tribes they met with are spoken of under the name of Dasvus, Râkshasas, and others

[6] SECTION III

APPROXIMATE DATE OF THE ĀRYAN SETTLEMENT IN
 THE DEKKAN AND NOTICES OF SOUTHERN INDIA
 IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE AND
 INSCRIPTIONS

Section III

The Āryas
 acquainted
 with
 Northern
 India in the
 time of the
 Aitareya
 Brāhmaṇa

WE will now endeavour to determine approximately the period when the Āryas settled in Dandakāranya, and trace the relations between the civilized Āryan community of the north and the southern country at different periods of Sanskrit literature and at well-known dates in Indian history. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, which is anterior to the whole of the so-called classical Sanskrit literature, the sage Visvāmitra is represented to have condemned by a curse the progeny of fifty of his sons to "live on the borders" of the Āryan settlements, and these, it is said, "were the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas, and the descendants of Visvāmitra formed a large portion of the Dasyus"¹. Of these the first four are spoken of as people living in the south, the Pundras in the Rāmāyaṇa, and the other three in the Purāṇas.² From the later literature, the Pulindas and Sabaras appear to have been wild tribes living about the Vindhya-s.³ Ptolemy places the former along the Narmadā. The Andhras, who in these days are identified with the Telugu people, lived about the mouth of the Godāvari or perhaps farther to the north. If these were the posi-

¹ Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 18. Pulindas are omitted in the corresponding passage in the Śāṅkhiliyāṇi Sūtra.

² See the passages above referred to.

³ In his Kādambarī Pīṇi places the Sabaras in the forest on the Vindhya range.

tions of the tribes in the time of the *Aitareyī* Section III
Brīhmana, the Indian Āryas must at that time have
been acquainted with the whole country to the north
of the Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of
that range

Pāṇini in his Sūtras or grammatical rules shows
an extensive knowledge of the geography of India
Of the places and rivers mentioned by him a good
many exist in the Panjab and Afghanistan, but the
names of countries situated in the eastern portion of
Northern India also occur in the Sūtras The coun-
tries furthest to the south mentioned by him are Kach-
chha (IV 2, 133), Avanti (IV 1, 176), Kosala (IV 1,
171), Karūsa (IV 1, 178)⁴ [7] and Kalinga (IV
1, 178)⁵ The first is the same as the modern country

Also in
Pāṇini's
time

⁴ This name does not occur in the Sūtra, but is the second in the list of Gāṇas beginning with Bharga. As regards the words occurring in these Gāṇas, I have on a previous occasion expressed my opinion that though it is not safe to attribute a whole Gāṇa to Pāṇini (and in several cases we have clear indications that some of the words were inserted in later times), still the first three words might without mistake be taken to be his. This was objected to by Professor Weber. But as my reasons were, as I thought, obvious, I did not think it necessary to defend my view. I may, however, here state that since Pāṇini refers to these Gāṇas in his Sūtras by using the first word in the list with *ādi*, equivalent to "and others," added to it, and since he uses the plural of the noun so formed, and the plural of a noun cannot be used unless three individuals at least of the class are meant, it is proper that we should understand him to be thinking of the first and two words at least more. This observation is meant to be applicable generally. In the present case, however, the expression *Bhargādi* forms a part of the compound, and the plural is not actually used, though it is clearly implied.

⁵ In the so-called Pāṇiniya Śikṣā the expression Saurāshṭrikkā nārī or "a woman of Surāshṭra" occurs. But this should by no means be regarded as showing that Pāṇini

Section III

of that name, Avantî is the district about Ujjayîni, and Kâlinga corresponds to the modern Northern Circars Kosala, Karâisa, and Avantî are mentioned in the Purânas as countries situated on the back of the Vindhya⁶ In the Ratnâvalî, a dramatic play, Kosala is also placed near that mountain range Supposing that the non-occurrence of the name of any country farther south in Pânini's work is due to his not having known it, a circumstance which, looking to the many names of places in the north that he gives, appears very probable, the conclusion follows that in his time the Âryas were confined to the north of the Vindhya, but did proceed or communicate with the northernmost portion of the eastern coast, not by crossing that range, but avoiding it by taking an easterly course

Southern India unknown in all likelihood in Panini's time

Southern India Known to Kâtyâyana but unknown to Pânini

Kâtyâyana, however, the object of whose aphorisms called Vârtikas is to explain and supplement Pânini, shows an acquaintance with southern nations Pânini gives rules for the formation of derivatives for the names of tribes of warriors which are at the same time the names of the countries inhabited by them, in the sense of "one sprung from an individual belonging to that tribe," and also, it must be understood, in the sense of "king of the country" Thus a man sprung from an individual of the tribe of the

was acquainted with Surâshîtra The Pâninîva Sîkshâ cannot be the work of Panini, for the author of that treatise begins by stating that he is going to explain Sîkshâ according to the views of Panini and ends with a few verses in praise of the great grammarian Besides, the author notices the Prâkrit dialects to which there is no allusion whatever in Panini's great work and writes in verse Grammatical treatises in verse are later than those in the form of Sâtris The Pâninîva Sîkshâ therefore must have been composed long after Panini

⁶ See the passages cited above

Pañchâlas, or the king of the country Pañchâlas, is to be called Pañchâla, a descendant of a Salva, or the king of the country of the Silvas, is to be called Sâlverâ, &c. Kâtyâvâna notices here in omission, the name Pindva is not explained by Pânini Kâtyâvâna therefore adds, "one sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pindus or the king of their country, should be called a Pindvî"⁷ Similarly, Pânini tells us that in either of these senses no termination should be appended to the word Kambojas which was the name of a non-Âryan people in the north-west, nor should any of its vowels be changed, but that the word *Kamboja* itself means "one sprung from an individual of the Kamboja tribe, or the king of the country of the Kambojis"⁸ Kâtyâvâna says that in this rule, the expression "and others" should be added to the word *Kambojas* for the rule applies also to the names "Cholas and others," that is, persons sprung from an individual of the Chola and other tribes, and the kings of the Chola and other countries should be called by the names "Chola and others" Similarly, Pânini tells us that the countries Kumudvat, Nadvat, and Vetasvat are so called because they contain Kumudas or water-lilies, [8] Nadis or reeds, and Vetas or canes, respectively⁹ Kâtyâvâna adds, "Mahishmat is so called because it contains Mâhishas or buffaloes"

Now Mahishmat appears to be the same southern country which in the Purâns is associated with Mâhârashtra and is called Mâhishakas Mâhishmatî on the banks of the Narmadâ was probably its capital Here we may, I think, argue, as Professor Goldstucker has done in many similar cases, that had

⁷ Pândor dyan, which is a Vârtika on Pâñ IV 1, 168

⁸ Pân IV 1, 175

⁹ Pân IV 2, 87

Section III Pāṇini known the Pāṇḍyas, Cholas, and Mahishmati, he would not have omitted the names from his rules, considering how careful a grammarian he was. Very likely, then, he did not know them, and this supposition is strengthened by the fact alluded to above that the name of no other southern country occurs in his Sūtras. Thus then the Āryas of the north were not familiar with the southern countries and tribes in the time of Pāṇini, but were so in the time of Kātyāyana. The latter author also mentions a town of the name of Nāsikya,¹⁰ which is very likely the same as our modern Nāsik.

Patañjali
intimately
acquainted
with
Southern
India

Patañjali shows an intimate acquaintance with the south. As a grammarian he thinks it his duty to notice the lingual usages in the south, and tells us that in *Dakshināpatha* the word *Sarasī* is used to denote large lakes.¹¹ He mentions Māhishmati,¹² Vāidarbha,¹³ Kāñchīpura,¹⁴ the modern Conjeveram, and Kerala¹⁵ or Malabār. Patañjali's date, B.C. 150, may now be relied upon. That author notices variant readings of Kātyāyana's *Vārtikas* as found in the texts used by the schools of the Bhāradvājīyas, Saunāgas, and others. Some of these might be considered as emendations of the *Vārtikas*, though Patañjali's introduction of them by the verb *pañhanti*, "they read," is an indication that he regarded them as different readings. A sufficiently long time therefore must have elapsed between Kātyāyana and Patañjali to give rise to these variants or emendations. I am therefore inclined to accept the popular

¹⁰ In a *Vārtika* on *Pāṇ* VI 1, 63

¹¹ *Mahābhāshya* on *Pāṇ* I 1, 19

¹² On *Pāṇ* III 1, 26

¹³ IV 1, fourth Āhnīka

¹⁴ IV 2, second Āhnīka

¹⁵ IV 1, fourth Āhnīka

Chrono-
logical
Relations
between
Kātyāyana
and
Patañjali

tradition which refers Kâtyâyana to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas, and to assign to him the first half of the fourth century before Christ. In this manner the interval between Kâtyâyana and Patañjali was about two hundred years. Now, Professor Goldstucker has shown from an examination of the Vârtikas that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Pânini but are taught by Kâtyâyana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Pânini's time. I have followed up the argument in my lectures "On the Sanskrit and Prâkrt languages,"¹⁶ and given from the Vârtikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, viz., either that Pânini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible, wherefore the second must be accepted. I have also [9] shown from a passage in the introduction to Patañjali's Mahâbhâshya, that verbal forms such as those of the perfect which are taught by Pânini as found in the Bhâshâ or current language, not the Chhândasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, and participles had come to be used instead.¹⁷ Professor Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Pânini in his Sûtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Kâtyâyana, and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Pânini's time but was known to Kâtyâyana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that elapsed between Pânini and Kâtyâyana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Pânini's time or were not old to him came to be

Section III

Between
Kâtyâyana
and Pânini¹⁶ Jour. Bom. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI p. 273¹⁷ Jour. Bom. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI, pp. 269-71

Section III considered by Kātyāyana to be as old as those which were old to Pāṇini. No less an interval of time than about three centuries can account for all these circumstances. Pāṇini, therefore, must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still, and against this conclusion I believe no argument has been or can be brought, except a vague prejudice. And now to our point, the Indian Aryas had thus no knowledge of Southern India previous to the seventh century before Christ, they had gone as far as the Northern Circars by the eastern route, but no further, and the countries directly to the south of the Vindhya they were not familiar with. About that time, however, they must have begun to penetrate still further, since they had already settled in or had communication with the countries on the northern skirts of the Vindhya and Kalinga, and first settled in Vidiarbha or Berir, approaching it still, it would appear, by the eastern route, but in the course of some time more they crossed the Vindhya and settled in Dandakāranya along the banks of the Godāvarī, that is, in Mahārāshṭra or the Dekkan. Before B.C. 350 they had become familiar with the whole country down to Tanjor and Mādura.

**Chrono-
logical
value of the
Epics**

A chronological conclusion based on the occurrence of certain words or names in the great epics is not likely to be so safe. Though a Mahābhārata existed before Pāṇini and Āśvalāyana, it is highly questionable whether our present text is the same as that which existed in their times. On the contrary, the probability is that the work has been added to from time to time, and the text itself has undergone such corruption that no one can be positively certain that a particular word was not foisted into it in comparatively modern times. The text of the

Rāmāyana also has become corrupt, though additions do not seem to have been made to it. Still the Bengali recension of the poem like the Bengali recensions of more recent works does contain additions. The text prevalent in this part of the country and in the south is more reliable, and though innumerable differences of reading exist in the different manuscripts even on this side still there is hardly any material difference. But [10] the date of the Rāmāyana is uncertain, the present Hindu belief based on the Purāṇas is that Rāma's incarnation is older than Kṛishna's, and consequently the Rāmāyana older than the Mahābhārata, but it is not a little curious that while there is an allusion to Vāsudeva and Arjuna and to Yudhiṣṭhīra in Pāṇini, and Patañjali frequently brings in Mahābhārata characters in his illustrations and examples, there is not one allusion to Rāma or his brothers or their father Daśaratha in the works of those grammarians. Even a much later author, Amṛasimha the lexicographer, in his list of the synonyms of Viṣṇu, gives a good many names derived from the Kṛishṇa incarnation, but the name of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, does not occur, though Rāma or Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛishṇa, is mentioned. Still, whatever chronological value may be attached to the circumstance, the occurrence of the names of places in the Dekkan contained in those epics I have already to some extent noticed. Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Dravidas, Uḍras, Kerīlas, and Andhras,¹⁸ and also to have visited Kishkindhā, which was probably situated somewhere near Hampī, the site of the Pampā lake or river, where Rāma met Sugrīva the monkey chief, though the country Kāshkindha is

Places
in the
Dekkan
alluded to
in the
poems

¹⁸ Sābhāp, Chap. 31

Section III placed by the Purânas among those near the Vindhyas He went also to Sûrparaka, the modern Supârâ near Bassein, Dañdaka, the same as Dañdakâranya but not mentioned as a forest, Karahâtaka the modern Karhâda on the confluence of the Krishnâ and the Koinâ, and to others The countries mentioned in the passage in the Râmâyana, alluded to above, as lying to the south are Utkala, probably the modern Ganjam, Kalinga, Daśârna, Avantî, Vidarbha, and others The district near Bhilsâ must have been called Daśârna in ancient times , for its capital was Vîdisâ, which was situated, as stated by Kâlidâsa in the Meghadâta, on the Vetravatî or Betvâ, and is thus to be identified with the modern Bhilsâ All these are thus in the vicinity of the Vindhya or nearly in the same line with it farther east But between these and the southernmost countries of the Cholas, Pândyas, and Keralas, the Râmâyana mentions no other place or country but Dañdakâranya This condition of the country, as observed before, is to be considered as previous to the Âryan settlements in the Dekkan, while that represented by the Mahâbhârata in the place indicated seems subsequent , and herein we may see a reason for believing that the Râmâyana is the older of the two epics The name Mahârâshtra does not occur in either of them

Names of
peoples
in the
Dekkan
in the
inscriptions
of Asoka

In the middle of the third century before Christ, Asoka, the great king of the Maurya dynasty reigning at Pâtaliputra in Magadha, speaks in the fifth Edict of his rock-inscriptions, which are found at Girnar in Kâthiâvâd on the west, Dhauli in Katak and Jaugad in Ganjam on the eastern coast, at Khalsi in the Himalaya, Shahbaz-garhi in Afghanistan, and Mansehra on the northern frontier of the Panjab, of his having sent ministers of religion [11] to the Râstikas

and the Petenikas and to the Aparāntas¹⁹ The last Section III which we know best is Northern Konkan, the capital of which was Sūrparāka Petenikas is not unlikely the same as Pañhapākas, i.e., the people or country about Pañhapā on the Godāvāri The vernacular pronunciation of the name of the city, which in Sanskrit is Pratishṭhāna, was in those days, as it now is, Peñhapā or Pañhāna, for both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy call it Pañhana or Bañhana The Rāṣṭikas, or, according to the Manschura version, Raṭrakas, corresponding to the Sanskrit Rāshṭrikas, were very likely the people of Mahārāshtra, for a tribe of the name of Raṭṭis has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Dekkan One branch of it assumed the name of Rishṭrakūṭas and governed the country before the Chālukyas acquired power It re-established itself after about three centuries, but had to yield to the Chālukyas again after some time In later times, chieftains of the name of Raṭṭis governed Sugandhavarti or Saundatti in the Belgaum district In the thirteenth Edict in which the countries where Asoka's moral edicts were respected are enumerated, the Petenikas are associated with Bhojas instead of Rāṣṭikas Bhojas,

¹⁹ अपारान्तकाः is the Sanskrit of the original Pali pit. It might be translated as "and also those other called Aparantas," i.e. also that other country called Aparanta If we take it in this way, Aparanta is clearly Northern Konkan, for that is the name of that part of the country found in Sanskrit and Pali Literature from the remotest times In the Mahāvamsa and Dipavamsa quoted below, Mahārāshtra is associated with Aparantaka It is possible to translate it as "and also other western countries" as M. Senart does But the word "other" certainly refers to Rāṣṭika-Petenikānām and not to the preceding Yonam Kambojam &c., as he takes it so as to make these last also western countries (Inscriptions of Asoka, Vol II, p 84)

Section III we know, ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berâr²⁰ and also in other parts of the Dekkan. In the inscriptions in the caves at Kuđâ²¹ the name "Mahâbhoja" or Great Bhoja occurs several times, and once in an inscription at Bedâ. Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahâbhojas, the Râshtrikas, Raṭṭis, Raṭṭhis, or Raṭṭhas called themselves Maliâraṭṭhis or Mahâraṭṭhas, as will be shown below, and thus the country in which they lived came to be called Mahâraṭṭha, the Sanskrit of which is Mahârâshtra. In the second and the thirteenth edicts, the countries of the Cholas, Pândyas, Ketala-putras (Chera or Kerala), and the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned. Thus about a hundred years before Patanjali, the whole of the southern peninsula up to Cape Comorin was in direct communication with the north, and the Dekkan or Mahârâshtra had regular kingdoms governed by Raṭṭas and Bhojas.

The occurrence of the names "Mahâraṭṭhi," "Mahâraṭṭha" and "Mahârâshtra" in books and inscriptions

In the Mahâvamso, a Ceylonese chronicle which was written in the third quarter of the fifth century of the Christian era, and in the Dipavamso, which is much older, the Buddhist saint Moggaliputto, who conducted the proceedings of the third convocation said to [12] have been held in the time of Asoka, is represented to have sent missionaries to Mahâraṭṭha, Aparântaka, and Vanavâsi²². Whether the name Mahâraṭṭha or Mahârâshtra had come into use in the

²⁰ In the Daśakumâracharita, the family of Bhojas has been represented as having held sway over the Vidarbha country for a long time.

²¹ Kuđâ inscriptions Nos 1, 9, 17, 19, 23, and Bedâ No 2, Arch Surv of West Ind, No 10.

²² Mahâvamso, Turnour's Ed, pp 71 and 72, and Dipavamso, Oldenberg's Ed, p 54. The latter however omits Vanavâsi.

Section III Kâlidâsa has not yet been satisfactorily determined, still he is mentioned as a poet of great merit in the first half of the seventh century by Bâja in his Harshacharita in the north,²⁴ and in an inscription at Aihole²⁵ dated 556 Saka in the south. A hundred years is not too long a period to allow for the spread of his fame throughout the country, perhaps it is too short. Kâlidâsa may therefore be referred to that period of Sanskrit literature in which the nine gems flourished, and which has been placed by Dr Kern in the first half of the sixth century.²⁶ The Mahârâshtrî dialect, therefore, in which Kâlidâsa wrote the Setubandha and the Prâkrit verses in his plays, must have undergone a course of cultivation for about two or three centuries earlier and been called by that name, since it has been known by no other in the whole literature. Varâhamihira also, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, speaks of Mahârâshtra as a southern country, and in the Aihole inscription alluded to above Mahârâshtra is mentioned as comprising three [13] countries and ninety-nine thousand villages. Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, calls the country ruled over by the Châlukyas in the second quarter of the seventh century, Moholocha, which has been properly identified with Mahârâshtra. The occurrence of the name of Mahârâshtra in the Purânas has already been noticed

²⁴ Dr Hall's *Vâsavadattâ*, Preface, p 11

²⁵ Ind Ant Vol VIII, p 243

²⁶ Ed of Varâhamihira, Preface, p 20

[14] SECTION IV

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN OR MAHĀRĀSHTRA
 —ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS
 IN THE CAVE-TEMPLES OF WESTERN INDIA

No clue to the political history of Mahārāshtra Section IV in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is now available. The Purīṇas contain lists of kings and dynasties whose chronology has been to some extent determined by their known connection with the successors of Alexander the Great, but clear traces of their occupation of the south have not yet been found. Chandragupta, who founded the Maurā dynasty in about B.C. 320, ruled over Northern India as far as Kāthiāvāḍ, and his grandson Asoka, who reigned from B.C. 263 to B.C. 229, Extent of the dominions of Chandragupta and Asoka retained possession of the province¹. The rock-inscriptions of the latter, which were evidently planted in the countries which owned his sway, show that his empire extended to Kalinga or the Northern Circars in the east and Kāthiāvāḍ in the west. But stray edicts have been discovered farther south, a fragment of the eighth being found at Supārā and three minor ones on the northern frontier of Mysore. In the second rock-edict he speaks of his own dominions as "the conquered countries" and mentions Chola, Pāṇḍya, Ketalaputta, and Saliyaputta down to Tambapanni or Ceylon as outlying provinces. These therefore did not own his sway. But in the fifth edict he mentions the Rāṣṭras, Petenikas and Aparāntas and a few more provinces as those for the benefit of which he appointed religious ministers.

¹ See inscription of Rudradāman, Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 260, line 8.

Section IV If these were as much a part of his dominions as the many others which are not named, there is no reason why they should be named Again he includes most of these in the thirteenth edict among countries which received his moral teaching, along with Chola, Pāṇḍya and others, and the territories ruled over by Antiochus and four other Greek princes It would thus appear that though the countries of the Rāṣṭrikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, and Aparāntas were not outlying provinces like those of the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Ketalaputtas, they enjoyed a sort of semi-independence , and only owned allegiance to him as suzerain The appearance of fragments of his inscriptions at Supārā and on the confines of Mysor is to be accounted for by this fact, or by the supposition that his dominions extended up to Supārā on the western coast and along a strip in the centre of the peninsula to Mysor, leaving the western countries of the Rāṣṭrikas, the Bhojas, and Petenikas, and the southern coast in a state of semi-independence And there is some positive evidence to that effect

Vidarbha, a separate kingdom in the time of Sungas

Vidarbha, the country of the Bhojas, must have existed as a separate kingdom about that time For in the dramatic play of Mālavikāgnimitra, the political events narrated in which may be accepted as historical, Agnumitra the son of Pushyamitra, the first king of the Sunga dynasty, who reigned in [15] the second and third quarters of the second century before Christ, is represented to have reigned at Vidarbha, which I have before identified with Bhilsā, probably as his father's viceroy He had made proposals of marriage with Mālavikā to her brother Mādhanavasena, the cousin of Yajñiasena, king of Vidarbha Between these cousins there was a quarrel as regards the succession to the throne When Mādhanavasena was

secretly on his way to Vidarbha, the general of Yajñinsena, posted on the frontier of the kingdom, captured him. His counsellor Sumitra and Mihiravati escaped, but Mihiravati was kept in custody. Thereupon Venimitra demanded of Yajñinsena the surrender of Mihiravati. Yajñinsena promised to give him up on condition that his wife's brother, who was the counsellor of the last Maurya King and had been imprisoned by Venimitra or his father Pushyamitra, should be released. This enraged Venimitra, who thereupon sent an army against Yajñinsena and vanquished him. Mihiravati was released, and the country of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, each ruling over each side of the river Vridhi.

Paiśhan also must have been the capital of a kingdom about the time. In the inscriptions in the caves at Pitallhorā near Chilasgarh, which from the forms of the characters in which they are engraved must be referred to the second century before Christ, the religious benefactions of merchants from Pratishthāna are recorded, as well as those of the physician to the king and of his son and daughter.² The king referred to must be the ruler of Pratishthāna or Paiśhan. No more particular information is available. On the history of the early centuries of the Christian era and the first century previous, however, the inscriptions in the cave-temples on the top of the Sahyadri throw a good deal of light. I will here bring together the information deducible from them, noticing the inscriptions in the chronological order clearly determined by the forms of the characters.

An inscription³ in a small cave at Nāsik mentions

² Inscriptions, pp 39, 41 Arch. Surv. West Ind., No 10

³ No 6, Nāsik Inscriptions, Vol VII, Jour B B R A S, and p 339, Trans. Oriental Congress, 1874

Section IV
Inscriptions of king Krishṇa and others of the Sātavāhana race at Nāsik and Nānāghāṭ

that the cave was scooped out by the lieutenant at Nāsik of King Krishṇa of the Sātavāhana race. In a cave at Nānāghāṭ there is another, which is much mutilated and the purport of which consequently is not quite clear. In that same cave figures of persons are carved on the front wall, and the following names are inscribed over them. 1, Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhano, 2, e, king Simuka Sātavāhana, 2, Devī Nāyanikā rāñño cha Siri Sātakanino, 1 e, of queen Nāyanikā and king Sri Sātakarni, 3, Kumāro Bhāyā, 1 e, prince Bhāyā, 4, Mahāraṣhīganakayiro, 1 e, the heroic Marāṭhā leader or the hero of the Marāṭhā tribe, 5, Kumāro Haku Siri, 1 e, prince Haku Sri, 6, Kumāro Sātavāhano, 1 e, prince Sātavāhana. Of these the second who has been mentioned along with his queen must have been the reigning prince, the first was an earlier king of the same [16] dynasty, the fourth was a local Marāṭhā warrior, and the rest were young princes of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

Ushavadāta's principal inscription at Nāsik

In another Nāsik cave there are four inscriptions. In the first we are told that the cave was caused to be constructed on mount Trirāśmi in Govardhana or the Nāsik District by the benevolent Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of king Kshaliarāṭa Nahapāna and son of Dīnika. Ushavadāta gave away three hundred thousand cows, constructed flights of steps on the river Bārnāsāyā, assigned sixteen villages to gods and Brāhmans, fed a hundred thousand Brāhmans every year, got eight Brāhmans at Prabhāsa or Somanāṭh Paṭṭan married at his own expense, constructed quadrangles, houses, and halting places at Bharul achchha or Bhīroch, Dasa-pura in Mīlvā, Govardhana, and Sopīrāya, the modern Supārā near Bassein, made gardens and sank wells and tanks, placed ferry boats over the

Ibi, Piridi, Damanī, Tapi, Karabeyī, and Dihinukī, which were rivers along the coast between Thīna and Surat, constructed rest-houses and endowed places for the distribution of water to travellers on both sides of these rivers, and founded certain benefactions in the village of Nānangoli, for the Chitras and Patishtāns (Vedic schools of Brahmins) in Pinditalāngī, Govardhāna, Suvarnamukha, Sopāra, and Rāmatirtha. One year in the rainy season he marched at the command of his lord to the relief of the chief of a tribe of Kshatriyas called Uttamabhadras, who had been attacked and besieged by the Mālavas. At the sound of his martial music the Mālavas fled away, and they were made the subjects of the Uttamabhadras. Thence he went to Poshalāmī and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village.⁴

In the second inscription Ushavādīta is spoken of as having, in the year 12, dedicated the cave monastery for the use of the Buddhist mendicant priests coming to it from the four quarters. He deposited with a guild of weavers residing in Govardhāna a sum of two thousand Kārshāpanas at an annual interest of one hundred Kārshāpanas. Out of this interest he directed that a garment should annually be given to each of the twenty priests residing during the rains in his cave monastery. With another guild he deposited one thousand Kārshāpanas, the interest on which was seventy-five Kārshāpanas. Out of this other things (Kusana) were to be provided for the priests. The carrying out of these directions was secured by their being declared in the corporation of the town of Govardhana and

Section IV

Ushava
dīta's
other ins-
criptions

Section IV inscribed on the door of the monastery. In the years 41 and 40 he gave away a large sum of money⁵ for gods and Brâhmaṇs. The third inscription, which is a short one, mentions that the apartment on which it is engraved was the religious benefaction of Ushavadâta's wife Dakhamitrâ⁶. The fourth is greatly mutilated but sufficient remains to show that that also records similar gifts of Ushavadâta's⁷. In the cave-temple of Kârli there is an inscription [17] in which Ushavadâta is represented to have granted the village of Karajika for the support of the mendicant priests in the cave monastery of Valîraka, as the hill or the country about it seems to have been called at the time⁸. There also is given an account of his charities similar to that in the first of his Nâsik inscriptions. In an inscription at Junnar, Ayama, the minister of the lord Nahapâna the great Kshatrapa, is mentioned as having caused a tank to be dug and a hall to be constructed⁹. The minister appears to have been a Brâhmaṇ, since he is spoken of as belonging to the Vatsa Gotra.

Inscriptions
of Gotamî-
putra
Sâtakarî
and
Puñumâyi
at Nâsik

Next in order come the inscriptions in which certain kings of the names of Gotamîputra Sâtakarî and Puñumâyi are mentioned. In the longest of the four occurring in the cave-temple at one extremity of the hill at Nâsik, we are told that in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Puñumâyi, the son of Vâsishthî, the cave was caused to be constructed and dedicated for the use of Buddhist mendicants of the

⁵ Nos 18 and 16, *Ibid*, which together form one inscription

⁶ First part of No 16, *Ibid*

⁷ No 14 *Ibid*

⁸ No 13, Kârli Inscriptions—Arch Surv, W Ind., No 10

⁹ No 25, Junnar Inscriptions, *Ibid*

Bhadrâyanîya sect by Gotamî, the mother of king Section IV
 Śâtakarnî Gotamîputra She is there called "the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king" Gotamîputra is spoken of as king of kings and ruler of Asîka, Asmaka, Mûlaka,¹⁰ Surâshîtra, Kukura, Aparânta, Anûpa, Vîdarbha and Ākarâvanti¹¹ He was the lord of the mountains Vîndhyâvat, Pâriyâtra, Sahya, Krishnagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, Śreshthagiri, and Chakora His orders were obeyed by a large circle of kings, and his feet were adored by them His beasts of burden drank the waters of the three seas He protected all who sought an asylum with him, and regarded the happiness and misery of his subjects as his own He paid equal attention to the three objects of human pursuit, *viz*, duty, worldly prosperity, and the satisfaction of desires, appointing certain times and places for each He was the abode of learning, the support of good men, the home of glory, the source of good manners, the only person of skill, the only archer, the only hero, the only protector of Brâhmaṇas He conferred upon Brâhmaṇas the means of increasing their race, and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes His exploits rivalled those of Râma, Kesava, Arjuna, and Bhîmasena, and his prowess was equal to that of Nabhâga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayâti, Râma, and Ambarîsha He was

¹⁰ Asmaka and Maulika are mentioned among the southern countries in the Purâṇas

¹¹ Surâshîtra is Southern Kâthiâvâd, Kukura, a portion of Râjputâna, and Aparânta, Northern Konkan Anûpa is mentioned in the Purâṇas as a country situated in the vicinity of the Vîndhyas It was the country on the upper Narmadâ with Mâhishmati for its capital, according to the Raghuvamsha Ākarâvanti must be the eastern portion of Mâlvâ

Section IV descended from a long line of kings. He vanquished the host of his enemies in innumerable battles, quelled the boast and pride of Kshatriyas, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, left no trace or remnant of the race of Khagārāta, and re-established the glory of the Śātavāhana family. In the last line of the inscription mention [18] is made of the grant of a village for the support of the establishment in the cave-temple ¹²

Charter of
Puṣumāyi

In a later inscription engraved in smaller characters below this, Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāyi, the lord of Navanara, issues orders to his lieutenant in Govardhana, Sarvākshadalana. He calls his attention to the fact that the village granted by the "lord of Dhanakaṭa" ¹³ (Gotamīputra) in accordance with the above, was not liked by the Bhadrāyanīyas, and therefore assigns another to them by this charter

Charter of
Gotamī-
putra

On the wall to the left of the verandah of the cave is another inscription. It purports to be an order or notice issued from the camp of the victorious

¹² Inscription No 26, Vol VII Jour B B R A S and Trans Or Congr 1874, p 307

¹³ Pandit Bhagvānlāl and Dr Bühler, whose transcripts and translations of the Nāsik inscriptions were published about ten years after mine, read the expression thus understood by me as खनकटसमनेहि for the Sanskrit खमकटशमन्. But what the Śramanas or Buddhist priests of Dhanakaṭa, which was situated hundreds of miles away on the lower Krishnā, could have to do with the matter of the granting of a village near Nāsik to the Bhadrāyanīya mendicants of the place it is impossible to conceive. The expression must, I think, be taken as खमकटसामिनेहि for the Sanskrit खमकटसामिनि or खमकटसामिनेहि corresponding to महासामिनेहि in the first part of No 25, the Sanskrit of which is महासामिके. The form सामिनेहि must have come into use on the analogy of such forms as भजेनहि for भायमि and राजानेहि for राजमि

army of Govardhana, by Gotamiputra Śātakarṇi, Section IV.
 lord of Dhanakaṭaka, to Viṣhnupālita, his lieutenant
 in Govardhana, informing him that the king has
 granted a field measuring 200 Nivartanas, which was
 up to that time in the possession of one Ushabha-
 dāta, for the benefit of recluses The charter here
 engraved is represented to have been originally issued
 in the year 18, that is, in the year preceding that in
 which the cave-temple was completed and dedicated
 Below this is inscribed another charter issued in the
 form of an order to Śramaka, the governor of Govar-
 dhana, by the queen of Gotamiputra Śātakarṇi, who putra
 is also called the royal mother She therein speaks
 of a field granted before, probably the one conveyed
 by the above charter, and says that it measures one
 hundred Nivartanas, and she assigns another hundred
 by this charter out of a field belonging to the crown
 which was her patrimony It appears that two
 hundred Nivartanas were granted by the first char-
 ter, but probably it turned out that the field measured
 one hundred only, hence she now makes it up by
 granting another hundred out of another field The
 date of this grant is 24, i.e., it was made six years
 after the first¹⁴

Besides these, there are two inscriptions at Nāsik Private
 recording the benefactions of private individuals, inscriptions
 dated in the second and seventh years of the reign
 of Śīrī (Śrī) Puṣṇumāvī, and two in the cave at Kīrli,¹⁵
 dated in the seventh and twenty-fourth years of his
 reign

Since Gotamī is spoken of as the mother of a Relations
 king and the grandmother of a king, and the wife of
 between
 the Kings

¹⁴ Nos. 25, 26, 27.

¹⁵ Nos. 24 and 27. *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Nos. 24 and 27. *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 2.

Section IV
and queens
mentioned
in the
inscriptions
in Gotamī's
cave

her son Gotamīputra Śātakarṇī is [19] represented as the mother of a king, and since the only other king besides Śātakarṇī mentioned in these inscriptions is Puṣumāyi, it appears that this last was the grandson and son respectively of these two ladies. He was therefore the son and his mother Vāsishṭhī the wife of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇī. Śātakarṇī issued the charter contained in the second inscription in the year 18, which must be the eighteenth year of Puṣumāyi's reign, since dates referring to his reign only are found at Nāsik and Kārlī and not to that of Gotamīputra. Even the date of the large inscription noticed above in which Gotamīputra's great deeds are recorded is referred to Puṣumāyi's reign. And the grant of the village alluded to in that inscription and the one below appears to have been made by Gotamīputra, since he is spoken of as "the lord of Dhanakaṭaka," though the portion of the rock containing the words that would have rendered the sense clear has been cut away. Gotamī is spoken of as dedicating the cave in the present tense, wherefore it must be understood she was alive at the time. The father and the son appear thus to have reigned at the same time, the son on this side of the country since the inscriptions are dated in his reign, and the father at Dhanakaṭaka, which has been identified with Dharaṇikoṭ in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency. And this is confirmed by the fact, mentioned above, of Gotamī's having been called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time.¹⁷

¹⁷ Dr. Bühler (Arch. Surv. of West Ind., Vol. IV, p. 110,) supposes me to have rested my conclusion as regards this point on this statement alone, and calls it a mistake.

Since the charter of the year 24, intended as supplementary to that of 18, was issued by Vâsishthî, while the first was issued by her husband, it appears probable that Gotamiputra had died in the interval and Vâsishthî reigned as regent at the capital, while Puñumâvi continued to govern the Dekkan or Mahîrishi. The years given in the charter must be those of Puñumâyi, since even the large inscription is dated in the nineteenth year of his reign. These kings belonged to the Sâtavâhana dynasty.

The names of other kings, apparently of the Mañgharî same dynasty, are found in other inscriptions. In one of the caves at Kâñheri near [20] Thânâ, a grant is recorded in the eighth year of the reign of Mañgharî-

Section IV

But he will find my other reasons also stated in the remarks at the end of my article in the Transactions of the Oriental Congress of 1874. And even this statement has a very high corroborative value. For, if the object of the writer was to represent Gotami's "special claim" to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grandson were great kings at one and the same time. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grandmother of a king, and there is nothing special in the fact if the son and the grandson bore the title at different times. If the son was dead, no object is gained as regards this point by saying she was the mother of that son that is not gained by saying she was the grandmother of a *living* great king. And if it was a fact that Gotamiputra was dead when the cave temple was dedicated and Puñumâyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. If Puñumâyi became king only after Gotamiputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence.

Section IV

putra Śakasena¹⁸ In two other inscriptions at the same place the name of the reigning prince is given as Gotamīputa Śrī Yañña Sātakāṇi (Gotamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarni)¹⁹ In one of these the year that is given is not legible, but still appears to be the sixteenth of his reign. There is one inscription at Nāsik which is dated in the seventh year of that king²⁰ Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl has brought to light the name of another prince. There is according to him an inscription on the Nānāghāṭ in which is recorded the dedication of a cistern of water in the thirteenth year of Vāsiṭhiputa Chatarapana Sātakāṇi.

Chatara-
panaNames of
princes on
the coins
found
at Kolhā-
pur

A large number of coins of copper and lead were discovered a few years ago, buried in what appears to have once been a Buddhist stūpa at Kolhāpur. Another hoard had been found some time previous in about the same locality. The legends on those coins are in characters the forms of which greatly

¹⁸ No 19, Jour B B R A A S, Vol VI and Vol XII, p 409. In the first copy the name is clearly Śakasenasa, but in the second, which is Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's rubbing, something like an effaced mark for the vowel ī appears above the first two consonants. The Paṇḍit, therefore, reads the name as Śrīsenasa for Śrīsenasya, but the k is distinct even in his copy. Sīkī cannot mean anything, wherefore it appears that the indistinct marks which do not occur in the first copy are due to some flaw in the rock, and do not represent the vowel ī. Dr Bhāu Dājī also read the name as Śakasenasa. But the copy of the inscription given in Plate LI Vol V of the Archaeological Survey of Western India and marked No 14 leaves no doubt whatever on the point. The name there is distinctly Śakasenasa. Further confirmation if necessary will be found later on. It is therefore clearly a mistake to call the king Śrīsena.

¹⁹ Nos 4 and 44, Jour B B R A S, Vol VI

²⁰ No 4, Jour B B R A S, Vol VII, and Trans Or Congr, 1874, p 339

resemble those in the cave inscriptions above noticed Section IV.
They are as follows²¹

Rañño Vasīṭhīputasa Viñvāvakurasa

Rañño Gotamīputasa Viñvāyakurasa

Rañño Mādhanīputasa Sevalakurasa

Here we have the same names as before, but the words Viñvāvakurasa and Sevalakurasa have not yet been interpreted by any student of Indian antiquities. On a former occasion I put forth a conjecture that they were the names of the viceroys of those kings appointed to govern the country about Kolhāpur.²² For, coins of two of these princes and of a few others belonging to the same dynasty are found near Dharaṇikoṭ in the Gantur District about the site of Dhanakaṭaka, the old capital. The legends on these do not contain those words, and the coins are of a different type from those found at Kolhāpur. These last, therefore, it appeared to me, were struck on this side of the country, and consequently bore the names of the viceroys under whose authority they were issued. The truth of this conjecture I will demonstrate further on. It will be seen from what is to be stated hereafter that the Vāsīṭhīputa of these coins who had Viñvāyakura for his viceroy can be no other than Vāsishṭhīputra Puñumāvī [21]. The Gotamīputa must be Gotamīputra Yajñā Śātakamī of the inscriptions, for the father of Puñumāvī did not reign on this side of the country, as none of the inscriptions are dated in his

²¹ Jour B B R A S, Vol XIII, p 305, and Vol XIV, p 153-54. There are in my possession coins of lead of the same size as those figured here, and a good many smaller ones in which I find the same legends as those given above. They also were found at Kolhāpur. Some of the smaller ones appear to be of bronze.

²² Jour B B R A S, Vol XIV, p 154

Section IV

Names of
princes on
the Supârâ
coin

reign though his exploits are described in the Nâsik Caves Mañharîputa must have come after Gotamîputa and not after Vâsiñhîputa, as is maintained by some scholars, for his viceroy was a different person from that of the other two. The fact that these two had the same viceroy shows that one of them immediately succeeded the other. Another prince with a different viceroy could not come between them. In the stûpa dug out at Supârâ, Pañdit Bhagvânîlâl found a silver coin in a copper casket. On the obverse of the coin, which bears a well-shaped head of the king, we have the legend Rañño Gotamîputasa Sri Yañña Sâta kanîsa, which means "[this coin is] of the king Gotamîputra Sri Yañña Sâtakarni". This therefore is the prince in whose name the coin was issued. There is another legend on the reverse which though some of the letters are not distinct appears to be *Gotamîputa-Kumâru-Yañña - Sâtakani-Chaturapanasa* the sense of which is "[this coin is] of Chaturapanâ Yañña Sâtakani, prince of Gotamîputa".²³ The coin was thus like the Kolhâpur coins issued in the names

²³ The nether portions of the letters *chaturapanasa* only are impressed on the coin so that the reading is somewhat doubtful, but *panasa* is distinct enough. Pañdit Bhagvânîlâl puts *Chaturapanasa* at the beginning of the legend and reads *Chaturapanasa Gotamîputa Kumâru Yañña Sâtakani* which he translates "Yañña Sâtakarpi, son of Gotamiputa, and prince of Chaturapanâ," and states his belief that Chaturapanâ was the name of Yañña Sri's father. But to connect Kumâru, which forms a part of a compound with the genitive, *Chaturapanasa*, is grammatically not allowable, while the genitive which is always required to show whose coin it is, is wanting. Hence *Chaturapanasa* is the last word and the whole is a compound, Kumâru is probably a mistake for Kumâra and Yañña Sâtakani is the father's name placed before *Chaturapanasa* to show that he was his son (Jour B B R A S, Vol XV, pp 305-6)

of two persons, of whom Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi was the Section IV reigning sovereign, as his name appears round the bust, and Chāturapana who was his son represented him as viceroy in the province in which the coin was issued, and which from the shape and get-up of the coin appears to have been once ruled over by the Kshatrapas of Ujjayini or Kīshināwād

There is an inscription at Kānheri which is in a Chatura-mutilated condition, but which with the help of ^{pana in a} Kānheri Mr West's eye copy and an impression given in one ^{Inscription.} of Dr Burgess' Reports has been partially restored by Dr Bühler. Therein is made the dedication of a water cistern by Śateraka who was the confidential counsellor of the Queen of Vāsishṭhiputra Śātakarṇi, who belonged to the family of the Karddamakas and was the daughter of a Mahikshatrapa whose name is obliterated. The opening letters of the second line have also been effaced, but what we might expect to find there is the name of her son, after we have had those of her husband, family, and father. From the letters in West's copy which look like *Sakarāja* one might think the son meant was Śakasena, still the conjecture is somewhat hazardous.²⁴ The name of this Vāsishṭhi [22] putra is Śātakarṇi, wherefore he was not Pūlumāvi, but very likely Chatushparṇa (Chatarapana) Śātakarṇi.

Thus then, from these inscriptions and coins we arrive at the names of the following kings arranged

²⁴ Jour B B R A S, Vol VI and Archæol S of W I, Vol V, Inscription No 11, also p 78 of the latter. There would be nothing improbable in it if we here read the name of Śakasena. For this name and that of his mother Maḍhāni point to a connection with the Sakas whose representatives the Kshatrapas were, and this connection is unfolded in this inscription.

Section IV in the chronological order indicated by the forms of the characters used and by other circumstances

Kṛishṇarāja

Śātakarnī

Kshaharāta Nahapāna and his son-in-law
Ushavadāta

Gotamīputra Śātakarnī

Vāsishṭhpūtra Puṣumāyi

Gotamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarnī

Vasishṭhpūtra Chatushparna (Chaturapana or
Chatarapana) Śātakarnī

Mañḍharīputra Śakasena

Besides these, we have the name of Simuka Śātavāhana, a king that reigned earlier than the second in the above list. We shall hereafter assign to him his proper place.

[23] SECTION V

NATIVE AND FOREIGN PRINCES MENTIONED IN THE
INSCRIPTIONS — IDENTIFICATION OF THE FORMER
WITH THE ANDHRABHRITYAS OF THE
PURÂNAS

THE first thing that will strike one on looking at the list given at the end of the last section, is that the name Kshaharâta Nahapâna is not Indian but foreign. The title Kshatrapa or Mahâkshatrapa also used in the case of that king, is not Indian, though it is the Sanskritised form of a foreign one, very likely the Persian *Satrap*. From the statement in the inscription of Gotamîputra that he destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, it appears that the country was at that time very much exposed to the inroads of these foreigners. Yavanas were the Bactrian Greeks, but Kshaharâta Nahapâna does not look a Greek name. He must, therefore, have been either a Śaka or Pahlava. Again, we are told that Gotamîputra left no remnant of the race of Khagârâta or Khakhârâta which name seems to be the same as Kshaharâta or Khaharâta as it is spelled in the Kârlî and Junnar inscriptions. It follows, therefore, that the Śakas or Pahlavas made themselves masters of the country some time between the second king in the above list and Gotamîputra Śâtakarî, and that they were driven out by Gotamîputra who, by thus recovering the provinces lost to his dynasty, re-established, as stated in the inscription, the glory of the Śâtavâhana race to which he belonged. All the other kings named above belonged to that dynasty.

Now, in the Purânas we have lists of kings and dynasties that ruled over the country. The earliest dynasty with which we are here concerned is the

Purânic dynasties

Section V

Nahapâna,
a Śaka

Śakas and
Pahlavas
over-
thrown by
Gotamî-
putra

Section V

Maurya founded by Chandragupta in B.C. 320, as determined by his relations with Seleucus, one of the generals and successors of Alexander the Great. It ruled over Northern India for 137 years according to the Purâṇas, and the last king Brihadratha was murdered by his general Pushyamitra or Pushpamitra, who founded the Sunga dynasty. This was in power for 112 years and was succeeded by the Kâṇva family which ruled for forty-five years. The Kâṇvas were overthrown by Sipraka, Sindhuka, or Sisuka, as he is variously named, who founded what the Purâṇas call the dynasty of the Andhrabhrityas, that is, Andhras who were once servants or dependents. The second king of this dynasty was Kṛishna according to all, the third was Śâtakarni or Śrîśâtakarni according to the Vâyu or Vishṇu, while the Bhâgavata corrupts the name slightly to Śântakarṇa. The Mâtsya interposes three more kings between Kṛishna and Śâtakarni, while the Vishṇu has another Śâtakarni to correspond with that of the Mâtsya. Gotamiputra is the thirteenth prince according to the Vâyu, fifteenth according to the Bhâgavata, seventeenth according to the Vishṇu, and twenty-second according to the Mâtsya. Pulimat, Purimat or Pulomat was his successor [24] according to the Vishṇu, the Bhâgavata, or the Mâtsya. These are so many mislections for the Puṇumâyi of our inscriptions and coins. The Vâyu omits his name altogether. His successor was Śiva Śrî according to the Vishṇu and the Mâtsya, while the Bhâgavata calls him Vedaśiras, and the Vâyu does not notice him. Yajña Śrî occurs in all, being placed after Śivaskandha, the successor of Śiva Śrî, by all except the Vâyu, which assigns to him the next place after Gotamiputra.

Thus then, the names occurring in the inscriptions and on the coins as well as the order sufficiently

agree with those given in the Purânas under the Section V Andrabhûritva dynasty to justify us in believing that the kings mentioned in both are the same. There is, however, no trace of Chatushpurna Sâtakarni unless we are to identify him with Chandrasri Sâtakarni. The name Mañhâriputra Sakasena also does not occur in the Purânas, and he appears to have belonged to a branch of the dynasty. We shall hereafter assign to him his place in the list. Simukî, whose name occurs in the Nînîghât inscription, and who, as I have already observed, was an earlier occupant of the throne than the reigning prince Sâtakarni the third in the Purânic list, must be the same as Sisuka, the founder of the dynasty. For the Devanâgari *ma* is often so carelessly written as to look like *sa*, hence the true Simuka was corrupted to Sisuka, Sisukî, or Sisukî, in the course of time. The Sindhuka of the Vâyu and the Sipraka of the Vishnu are further corruptions. This identification is rendered probable also by the consideration that he who caused the cave to be constructed, and the statues of himself and the younger princes to be carved, might, to give dignity to his race, be expected to get the founder of the dynasty also represented there, especially as he was removed only one degree from him. In this manner the Andhrabhûritya dynasty of the Purânas is the same as the Sâtavâhana dynasty of the inscriptions.

The Sâtavâhanas of the inscriptions same as the Andhrabhrityas of the Purânas

[25] SECTION VI

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANDHRABHRTYAS OR
SÂTAVÂHANAS

Section VI

THE next question we have to consider is as regards the dates of these princes. In my paper on the Nâsik cave inscriptions¹, I have accepted A D 319 as the date of Gotamîputra's accession, arrived at by taking B C 315 as the year in which Chandragupta founded the dynasty of the Mauryas at Pâtaliputra, and 664 years to have elapsed between him and Gotamîputra, since the periods assigned in the Purânas to that dynasty and the subsequent ones, and the durations of the reigns of the Andhrabhritya princes who proceeded Gotamîputra according to the Mâtsya when added, give 664. The "race of Khagârâta," which Gotamîputra is, as observed before, represented in one of the Nâsik inscriptions to have exterminated, I identified with the dynasty of the Kshatrapas whose coins are found in Kâthiâvâd, as well as a few inscriptions, since Kshaharâta or Khagârâta was also a Kshatrapa and had been placed at the head of the dynasty by previous writers. The latest date on the coins of those princes then known was 250, which referred to the Saka era, is A D 328. This comes so close to Gotamîputra's A D 319, that the two seemed to corroborate each other. But there are several objections to this view, some of which occurred to me even then (1)—The inscriptions and coins of the Kshatrapa dynasty concur in carrying the genealogy backward to Chashâna and no further, and as yet nothing has turned up to show that any connection existed

The
dynasty of
Nahapâna
not the
same as
that of the
Satraps of
Ujjayinî
and
Kâthiâvâd

between him and Nahapâna (2)—If the Kshatrapa Section VI or Satrap dynasty held sway over Mahârâshtra for about three hundred years as it did over Kâthiâvâd, we might reasonably expect to find in that country inscriptions or coins of most of the princes, but a few coins of the later ones only have been discovered in a village near Karâdh² and no inscription whatever (3)—Rudradâman in his Junâgad inscription calls a Sâtakarni, 'lord of Dakshinapatha', which he would not have done if he had been the ruler of even a part of the Dekkan (4)—And the dates occurring on some Satrap coins recently discovered are said to be 300 and 304³ which referred to the Saka era A D 378 and 382, that is, the Satraps were in power even long after A D 340, which is the date of Gotamîputra's death according to the Purânic accounts. For these reasons it would appear that the "race" of Khagârâta or Nahapâna which Gotamîputra put an end to and which ruled over this country before him, could not have been the dynasty of the Satraps (5)—Besides, according to my former view, the interval between Nahapâna and Gotamîputra is about 200 years, but the difference in form between the characters in Ushavadâta's and Gotamîputra's inscriptions is not great enough for that period. Hence the two princes must be brought closer together.

[26] From the Greek geographer Ptolemy we learn that in his time the country inland from the western coast was divided into two divisions of which the northern was governed by Siro Polemios whose capital was Paîhan, and the southern by Baleocuros who lived in Hippocura. Siro Polemios is evidently

² Jour B B R A S, Vol VII, p 16

³ Ind Ant Vol VI, p 57, Note, and Genl Cunningham's Arch Report, Vol XI, p 127

Section VI

Viśivāya-
kura

the same name as the Siri Puṣumāvi or Puṣumāyi of the inscriptions corresponding to the Pulomat, or Puṣimat of the Purānas. But there were two kings who bore that name, one the son of Gotamīputra, mentioned in the inscriptions, and another an earlier prince of the Andhrabhritya dynasty. This last does not appear to have been a prince of any note, wherefore very likely the former is the one spoken of by Ptolemy. But the question is almost settled by the mention of Baleocuros as the Governor of the southern provinces. We have seen that in the legends on the Kolhāpur coins the name Viśivāyakura is associated with that of Puṣumāyi and of Gotamīputra. Viśivāyakura is the same as Baleocura, and I have already stated that the reason why his name, in my opinion, occurs along with those of the two princes of the Śātavāhana dynasty, and on Kolhāpur coins alone, while it does not occur on those found in the lower Godāvarī districts, is that he was the viceroy of those princes ruling over the country about Kolhāpur. This country answers to the southern division mentioned by the Greek geographer as being governed by Baleocuros. The Siro Polemios therefore of Ptolemy is the same as the Puṣumāyi of the inscriptions and coins.

Puṣumāyi
began to
reign about
130 A D

Ptolemy died in A D 163, and is said to have written his work after A D 151. Puṣumāyi, therefore, must have been on the throne some time before this last date. We will now proceed to reconcile this date with those mentioned in the inscriptions, and to determine more particularly the date of Puṣumāyi's accession. Some of Ushavadāta's benefactions were founded in the years 40, 41 and 42, and the latest date connected with Nahapāna is that in the inscription of his minister Ayama at Junnar, viz., 46. These dates should, I think, be referred to the Saka

era. For, we have seen that before the time of Section VI Gotāmiputra, the country was subject to the inroads of Sakas and other foreign tribes, and the Scythians who are identified with the Sakas had, according to the Greek geographers, established a kingdom in Sind and even in Rājputānā. The era known by the name of the Saka and referred to in all the early copper-plaques as the era of the Saka king or kings must have been established by the most powerful of the Saka invaders,⁴ who for the first time

⁴ Prof Oldenberg thinks Kanishka to be the founder of the era but this view is, I think, untenable (1)—A dynasty of three kings only cannot perpetuate an era. The dynasty of the Guptas composed of seven kings was in power for more than a hundred and fifty years, but their era died a natural death in the course of a few centuries (2)—The characters in Kanishka's inscriptions, especially the *ja* as conjoined with a preceding consonant, are later than those we find in the first century. One has simply to compare Inscription No 1 in Plate XIII of the third volume of General Cunningham's Arch. Reports with No 4 to see the great difference in the forms of the letters in the times of the earliest Kshatrapas and of Kanishka. The former belongs to the time of the Kshatrapa Śodasa and the letters are almost like those we find in Ushavadāta's inscriptions at Nāsik, while those in the latter, which is dated in the ninth year of Kanishka, are considerably later, and both the inscriptions exist in Mathurā (3)—There is no ground to believe that Kanishka reigned over Gujarāt and Mahārāshtra, but the Saka era began to be used very early, especially in the last country (4)—The Guptas whose gold coinage is a close imitation of that of the Indo-Scythian dynasty, came to power in A.D. 319 while the last of the three kings Kanishka, Hushka and Vāsudeva must, if the reign of the first began in A.D. 78, have ceased to reign about A.D. 178, i.e., about 100 years after the foundation of the dynasty. And the latest date of Vāsudeva is 89. If so, an interval of 140 years must have elapsed between the last of the Indo-Scythian kings and the first Gupta, but the close resemblance in the coinage necessitates the supposition

Section VI [27] obtained a permanent footing in the country, and Nahapâna and Chashṭana⁵ or his father must have been his Satraps appointed to rule over Western India, and Mâlvâ. On this supposition the latest date of Nahapâna must correspond to A D 124 Gotamîputra or Puṣumâyi therefore must have acquired possession of this country after that year. The earliest date of Puṣumâyi occurring in the inscriptions is the second year of his reign, and since the inscription could not have borne that date if Nahapâna or his successors had been in power, it is clear that Puṣumâyi began to reign after the overthrow of the latter. Now, we also learn from Ptolemy that Tiastenes reigned at Ozene about the time when he wrote, and was therefore a contemporary of Puṣumâyi. Tiastenes has, I think, been reasonably identified with Chashṭana. But accord-

that it was much shorter. Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era was 241 Saka, i.e., 319 A D, has been pronounced unreliable by some antiquarians. As to this point and the era of the Satrap dates, see Appendix A.

⁵ Professor Oldenberg considers Chashṭana to be a Satrap appointed by Gotamîputra, a supposition which is unwarrantable, since a prince like Gotamîputra whose aim was to expel and destroy foreigners cannot be expected to appoint a foreigner, as Chashṭana's name indicates he was, to be a viceroy, and to use a foreign title, and we have seen that Baleocuros, who was a viceroy of that monarch or of his son, does not use that title. Rudradaman, the grandson of Chashṭana, appointed, as we see from his Junâgaḍ inscription, a Pahlavî of the name of Suvisâkha, who was the son of Kulaipa, to govern Surishṭra and Anarta. This circumstance confirms what we gather from other sources, namely, that this was a dynasty of princes of a foreign origin, who had adopted Hindu manners and even names, had in some cases entered into marriage alliance with native royal families, and were domiciled in the country.

ing to the Junâgañ inscription noticed above, Chashṭana's grandson Rudradâman was the reigning prince in the year 72, which, taking the era to be the Saka, is 150 A D Chashṭana and Puṣumâyi therefore could not have been contemporaries in 150 A D Ptolemy's account must, in consequence, refer to a period much earlier, *i.e.* to about the year 132 A D, since about eighteen or twenty years at least must be supposed to have elapsed between the date of his information when Chashṭana was on the throne and the year 150 A D when his grandson was in possession of it, his son Jayadâman having occupied it for some time in the interval Again, in the nineteenth year of Puṣumâyi, Gotamîputra was in possession, according to the large inscription at Nâsik, of a good many of those provinces which, according to the Junâgañ inscription, were conquered and ruled over by Rudradâman The date 72 in the inscription seems to refer to the sweeping away by a storm and excessive rain of the dyke on one side of the lake therein mentioned and not to the cutting of the inscription on the rock So that it is doubtful whether Rudradâman had conquered those [28] provinces before 72 or did so after 72 and before the incision of the inscription Supposing he conquered them before 72, the nineteenth year of Puṣumâyi must correspond at least to the second or third year before A D 150, that is, Puṣumâyi must have begun to reign, at the latest, about the year A D 130 And even if we understand him to have conquered them after 72, Puṣumâyi's accession cannot be placed much later, for the interval between Chashṭana who was Puṣumâyi's contemporary and his grandson Rudradâman who was reigning in 150 A D will be considerably shortened Nahapâna or his successor must thus have been overthrown by

Section VI Gotamīputra or Puṣumāyi about five or six years at the most after his latest recorded date, *viz* A D 124

The history of the relations of these princes appears to be this Nahapāna was a Satrap ruling over Mahārāshṭra His capital was probably Junnar since the inscriptions at the place show the town to have been in a flourishing condition about that time, and we have a record there of the gift of his minister He must have died soon after 46 Śaka or A D 124 Gotamīputra and Puṣumāyi came from the south-east to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapāna's successor, whoever he was, killed all his heirs, and re-established their power over this side of the country This appears to be what is meant by Gotamīputra's having been represented in the Nāsik inscription to have "left no remnant of the race of Khagārāta," and to have "regained the prestige of his family" Chashṭana founded or belonged to another dynasty of Satraps which reigned at Ujjayinī In the Junāgaḍ inscription, men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradāman and chosen him their lord for their protection,⁶ and he is spoken of as having re-established the kingdom that had been lost,⁷ himself assumed the title of the Great

⁶ The expression is सर्ववर्णरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतिव्रेष्टतेन Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 260, 1, 9

⁷ In Paṇḍit Bhagavānlāl's transcript in Vol VII, Ind Ant, the reading is सदराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन But in a foot-note Dr Bühler says that the correct reading may be राज्य for राज In Dr Bhāu Dāji's copy of the inscription the र्य is distinct, p 118, Vol VII, Jour B B R A S Bühler Dāji and Paṇḍit Bhagavānlāl translate this expression by "obtained glory of great exploits by the re-establishment of deposed kings," (p 20, Vol VII, Jour B B R A S), and "he who has restored to their thrones

Relations
of Gotamī-
putra and
his
successors
with Nahapāna,
Chashṭana
and Rudradāman

Kshatrapa, conquered Akarâvanti, Anûpa, Surâshtra, Aparânta and other provinces which, as we have seen, were owned by Gotamîputra, and some more, and as having twice subdued Sâtakarî, the lord of Dakshinâpatha, but still not destroyed him in consequence of his connection⁸ with him not being remote [29] and acquired a good name on that account. The meaning of all this appears to me to be this. Gotamîputra Sâtakarî, after having destroyed Nahapâna or his successor, turned his arms against another dynasty of foreigners that was ruling at Ujjayînî. Or the Kshatrapa sovereign of Ujjayînî, Chashîana, or very probably his son Jayadâman, having observed the growing power of Gotamîputra or Pulumâyi who had put an end to a kindred family of rulers, and desirous of preventing his further growth, must have attacked him. A fact such as this must be the basis of the popular stories about a king of Ujjayînî having attacked Sâlivâhana at Paiñhan and been defeated by him. Sâlivâhana is but

deposed kings," (p. 260 a, Vol. VII, Ind. Ant.) If राज्य were the reading, this translation would of course be correct, but with राज्य it is far fetched. There is nothing here to show that the lost *râjya* or kingdom re-established by Rudradâman was any other person's than his own. So that, it looks natural to understand him to have re-established (his own) lost kingdom.

⁸ The reading is सवधाष्टदूरया. It is allowable to insert त् and take it as सवधाष्टदूरतया. But the sense of the word, which is "remoteness," will not suit the context, as he could not have "acquired a good name," i.e., been esteemed by people for not destroying the Lord of the Dekkan on account of the remoteness of the connection. Remoteness or distance of the country would compel one to let his enemy alone, and there could be no virtue in it. The त् therefore in the word must have crept in through mistake, wherefore the true reading must be सवधाष्टदूरतया.

Section VI another mode of pronouncing Śātavāhana,⁹ and Puṣumāyi or Gotamīputra was a Śātavāhana. The ruler of Ujjayinī was defeated and pursued by the victorious Gotamīputra into his own dominions, when the latter subjugated Avantī, Anśūpa, Surāshṭra and Aparānta, and dethroned Jayadāman. For a time he and his successors held sway over the territories owned by Chashṭana, but subsequently Rudradāman collected a band of followers, the same as those that are represented in the inscription as having chosen him their lord, and driving away the Śātavāhanas, regained his lost kingdom and got himself crowned as Mahākshatrapa. But as appears from the Supārā coin of Yajñā Śrī which bears such striking resemblance to the Kshatrapa coins and is so unlike the Kolhāpur coins of that monarch, large or small, and from the fact that his son Chaturapana was his viceroy or representative, the Śātavāhanas retained possession of a part at least of the Kshatrapa territories up to the time of Yajñā Śrī. They even entered into blood relationship with the Kshatrapas, as we learn from the Kānheri inscription, which speaks of the wife of Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarnī being the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa. But Rudradāman pursued his victories and according to his Junāgaḍ inscription twice conquered Śātakarnī the lord of Dakshināpatha, but did not destroy him, and acquired a good name by his forbearance towards one whose connection with him was not remote. Thus the lord of Dakshināpatha that he conquered was Yajñā Śrī Śātakarnī. He could not have been his son Chaturapana, for the expression "non-remoteness of the connection" suits the former better than the latter, as Chaturapana's wife was the daughter of a

Mahâkshatrapa, perhaps his own and the connection with him was positively close. The reacquisition of his lost kingdom by Rudradâman took place after the nineteenth year of Puñumâvi's reign, that is, after about A.D. 150. It is in this way alone that the scraps of information derived from the Greek writers and gathered from inscriptions, coins, and popular legends as well as the dates, can be made to harmonize with each other.

But the date thus assigned to Gotamîputra is not consistent with that derived from the Mâtsya Purâna. Our next endeavour, therefore, should be to ascertain whether none of the Purânas agrees sufficiently with the conclusion arrived at, and, if any does, to account for the [30] great discrepancy between it and the Mâtsya and others. That there is very little agreement among them as regards the Andhrâbhrityas, I have already indicated above. The genesis of our Purânic literature seems to be this. Certain versified accounts of certain things, purporting to be narrated by a bard to Rishis assembled together at a sacrificial session, were handed down orally from generation to generation, and these were after some time committed to writing. The later Purânas, devoted to the exaltation of a particular deity and to the inculcation of certain doctrines, derived their accounts of these things from the earliest written Purânas and not from the oral tradition. Of the works of this class which I am going to compare for our present purpose, the oldest appears to me to be the Vâyu, and next to it the Mâtsya. The Vishnu is later, and the Bhâgavata, the latest. The text of the old Purânas gradually became corrupt, and the authors of the later ones were in some cases misled by their incorrect readings.

Dates of
the Andhrâ-
bhrityas
is deter-
mined from
the Purânic
accounts

enumeration, the Mâtsya omits two, and the Section VI. Bhâgavata, one, and the total of the years assigned to each prince in the Vâyu exceeds 112. There is evidently some mistake here, but if we take the general statement to be the correct tradition handed down, the dynasty became extinct in B C 73. The dynasty next mentioned is that of the Kâñvas or Of the Kâñvâyanas. There were four princes of this line, and they reigned for forty-five years, though the Bhâgavata, through a mistake to be explained hereafter, makes the period to be 345 years. They were [31] followed by the Andhrabhrityas. But here, there is a statement in the Vâyu and the Mâtsya, the like of which does not occur in the account of the other dynasties. The founder of the Andhrabhrityas, Sindhuka, according to the first Purâpa, and Sîsuka, according to the other, is said to have uprooted not only the Kâñvas, but "whatever was left of the power of the Sungas"¹⁰. And the Kâñvas are pointedly spoken of as Sungabhrityas or "servants of the Sungas"¹¹. It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Sunga family became weak, the Kâñvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns, and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that like the Peshwas

10 कारणायनस्त् (मत) सो भृत्य सुशर्मणं प्रसर्ष्य तम् । शुक्लानां चैव यच्छेष्व चयथित्वा वर्णं सदा ॥ सिंधुको अन्नजातीय प्राप्त्यतीमा वसुभराम् ॥

Vâyu

"A servant of the race of the Andhras having destroyed Suśarman of the Kâñva family with main force and whatever will have been left of the power of the Sungas, will obtain possession of the earth" The statement in the Mâtsya is similar

11 चत्वारं शुक्लभृत्यास्ते शृपा कारणायमा हिन्दा । Vayu

Section VI they were Brâhmans and not Kshatriyas Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Sungas includes the 45 assigned to the Kânavas The Sungas and the Kânavas, therefore, were uprooted, and the family of the Andhrabhrityas came to power in B C 73 In a general way, the number of princes belonging to this line is given as thirty in the Vâyu, the Vishnu, and the Bhâgavata, and twenty-nine in the Mâtsya, and the total duration is stated to be 411 years in the first, 456 in the second and the third, and 460 in the fourth The disagreement here is not great, wherefore the tradition as to thirty princes and about 456 years may be accepted as correct But the discrepancy between this general statement and the more particular accounts that follow, as well as the disagreement between the several Purânas in this last, is very great This will be apparent from the following table —

[32] Thus, the Vâyu has seventeen princes and 272 years and a half, and the Mâtsya, thirty and 448 and a half The Vishnu gives twenty-four names and the Bhâgavata, twenty-two This last Purâna has in many cases corrupted the names and confounded Hâla with the Arishṭakarman of the Vishnu, whom it names Anishṭakarman Hâleya It also omits the fifth prince of the Vishnu Purâna The details given in the Mâtsya come very close to the general tradition and thus confirm it Should we then attribute the very great discrepancy between these details and those of the Vâyu to the corruption of the text of the latter? Two or three names might drop away in this manner, but the omission of thirteen names and the reduction of the total duration by 176 years must I think be accounted for in

Vāyu	Mātseya	Vishnu	Bhūgavata
Names	Names	Names	Names
Sindhuṇa	23 Śiṣuṇa	23 Śiṣraka	Name not given, but mentioned as a Vṛiqhala or Śādra
Krishna	10 Kṛishṇa Nallakarṇi Purjotsanga	18 Kṛishṇa 10 or 18 Sri Śīlakarṇi Pūrṇotsanga	Kṛishṇa Śāntakarṇa Paurṇamāśa
Śātakarṇī	56 Skandhastambhi Śātakarṇi Lambodara	18 Skandhastambhi 56 Śātakarṇi 18 Lambodara	Śātakarṇi Lambodara

Vāyu	Duration of reign in years	Mītrīya	Vīshnu	Bhīṣmavata
Name		Names	Names	Names
Apīlaka	12	Apīlaka Meghavīśvā Śāli	Apīlaka Meghavīśvā Śāli	Huvīlaka Meghavīśvātī
Pūtīmīvi Śeunīkrishna	21	Śvātīkarma Pulonīvi Gaurīkrishna or Nānūlīkrishna	7	
Vīlā	25	Hīlā Vāndulaka	36	Ātāmāna Anishtakarman Hīleya
Sāiptīlaka or Mandala- laka	7		25	
Pūtīkrishṇa	5		5	Talaka
Śālīkarmi	21		5	Purīshabhrū
Chakora	14	Purīndrasena Śāndhara Śātīkarma	5	Sūnandana
Śivasyātī	28	Chakora Śātīkarma	14	Chakora
Gomatiśpūtra	21	Śivasyātī	28	Śivasyātī
Pulonītī	21	Gantamīśpūtra	21	Comatiśpūtra
Śivāśrī	7	Pulonītī	28	Purīmīvi (mat)
Śivāśrīkāndī	7	Śivāśrī	7	Medasāras
Yajīñīśrī	29	Yajīñīśrī Śātīkarma	29, 9 or 20	Śivāśrīkāndī
Vījaya	6	Vījaya	6	Vījaya
Pūtīndrasītī Śātīkarma	3	Chāndīkāti Śātīkarma	10	Chāndīkāti
Pulonītī	7	Pulonītī	7	Pulonītī

some other way. Besides the tradition about 456 years, there is a statement in the *Vāyu Purāna*, in a verse below, to the effect that the "Andhras will have possession of the earth for three hundred years,"² which seems to point to another. That such a tradition existed is indicated by the mistake in the *Bhāravāti* by which the Kānavas are assigned three hundred and forty five years. The original account, which the author of this *Purāna* must have [33] seen, probably assigned forty-five years to the Kānavas and three hundred to the next or Andhra bhāritya dynasty. But since that dynasty was also assigned another duration, viz. 156 years, he connected the "the three hundred" with the preceding, and gave 215 years to the Kānavāna family. Now, the manner in which the two traditions are to be reconciled is by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Andhrabhritya dynasty. That the younger princes often reigned at Pañchāna and the elderly ones at Dhanalāṭa appears clear when we compare the inscriptions with the statement in Ptolemy. When the throne at the principal seat became vacant, the Pañchāna princes succeeded. But some probably died before their elders and never became kings of Dhanalāṭa. From an inscription found at Bānuvāsi by Dr Burgess it would appear that another branch of that dynasty ruled over Kānarā. The period of three hundred years and the seventeen names given in the *Vāyu Purāna* refer probably to the main branch. The *Matsya* seems to me to put together the princes of all the branches, and thus makes them out to be thirty. The total of the years

Two traditions about the duration of the Andhrabhritya dynasty—156 and 215 years

The lower period refers to the main branch of the family

Section VI

assigned to the several reigns in the Vâyu is 272½, and if we should suppose one or two reigns lasting for about twenty-eight years to have dropped out by the corruption of the text, it would become 300½. Thus then the Vâyu and the Mâtsya Purânas each give a correct account, but of different things. The Vishnu, which gives twenty-four princes, is not entitled to so much credit as the Vâyu. It is a later work and the author's purpose being sectarian, he probably did not care so much for the accuracy of his details, and hence omitted even the duration of each reign. The Bhâgavata is still more careless, as has already been shown.

If then we take the account in the Vâyu Purâna to refer to the main branch of the dynasty and consequently generally correct, the period that intervened between the rise of the Sâtavâhanas or Andhrabhrityas and the end of the reign of Sîvasvâti is 206 years.¹³ The dynasty must, as we have seen, have been founded in B C 73, wherefore the end of Sîvasvâti's reign and the accession of Gotamîputra must be placed in A D 133. We have seen that Puñumâyi, whose capital was Paiñhan according to Ptolemy, and who from the inscriptions appears to have been king of this part of the country and to have reigned contemporaneously with his father, must have begun to reign at Paiñhan about 130 A D. The father and the son drove the foreigners from the Dekkan, and the son was established as the ruler of the regained provinces, Gotamîputra expecting to succeed to the throne at the original seat of the family. Gotamîputra reigned for twenty-one years according to the Purânas, wherefore he must have died in 154 A D. He was alive, as stated before, in

Date of the accession and death of Gotamîputra

¹³ By adding up the numbers in the table

the eighteenth year of Puṇumāyi, *i.e.* in 148, and also in the nineteenth when the cave temple was dedicated, and not alive in the twenty-fourth, *i.e.* in 154, according to the two inscriptions [34] mentioned before Ptolemy's mention of Puṇumāyi I have already referred to about the year 132, so that, the date deduced from this source, and those derived from Gotamīputra's and Puṇumāyi's inscriptions at Nāsik and Rudradāman's at Junāgaḍ on the supposition that the era used in this last is the Śaka, as well as those derived from the Purāṇas may thus be shown to be consistent with each other. The dates of all the princes whose names we find in the inscriptions may therefore be thus arranged

Of the other
princes
mentioned
in the
inscriptions

Śīmuka began to reign in B.C. 73 and ceased in B.C. 50

Kṛishṇa began in B.C. 50 and ceased in B.C. 40

Sātakarṇi (third in the Vāyu P.) began in B.C. 40 and ceased in A.D. 16

Nahapāna Kshaharāṭa

Gotamīputra began in A.D. 133 and ceased in A.D. 154

If the twenty-eight years assigned to Puṇumāyi in the Matsya Purāṇa are to be reckoned from the year of Gotamīputra's death, he must be considered to have begun to reign at Dhanakaṭaka in A.D. 154, and to have ceased in A.D. 182. He reigned at Paiṭhan from A.D. 130 to A.D. 154, that is, for about twenty-four years, and we have seen that the latest year of his reign recorded in the inscriptions at Nāsik and Kārlī is the twenty-fourth. Altogether then his reign lasted for fifty-two years. But if the twenty-eight include the twenty-four for which he ruled at Paiṭhan, he must have died in 158. This supposition looks very probable. He was succeeded by Śivasrī, whose coin found in the Tailangana districts has been described by Mr. Thomas in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 64. He appears to have been Puṇumāyi's

Puṇumāyi

Puṇumāyi's

successors

Section VI brother, since he also is styled on the coin Vâsiṣṭhî-puta, i.e., Vâsiṣṭhîputra, or the son of Vâsiṣṭhî. He had a reign of seven years and must have died in A.D. 165. Śivaskanda was the next king, to whom also seven years have been assigned. There is no trace of these two princes on this side of the country, while the name of the next, Yajña Śrî, occurs frequently as we have seen in inscriptions and coins. He appears to have been Puṣumâyi's immediate successor at Pañhaṇ. His full name was Gotamîputra Yajña Śrî Sâtakarnî, and he is, as observed before, the Gotamîputra of the Kolhâpur coins. Some copies of the Mâtsya assign him twenty-nine years, others nine, and twenty, and the Vâyu, twenty-nine, while the Brahmâṇḍa allows him nineteen. Probably he reigned in Mahârâshtra for eighteen or nineteen years, since the sixteenth year of his reign is his latest recorded date, and for twenty-nine years at Dhanakaṭaka since, according to our supposition, the Vâyu Purâna gives an account of the Dhanakaṭaka branch and his coins are found in Tâlangâna. And this is confirmed by what we have already said. Puṣumâyi reigned at Dhanakaṭaka for four years and his two successors for fourteen. All this while, i.e., for eighteen years, Yajña Śrî was ruler of Mahârâshtra. He must thus have ceased to reign in the last country in about A.D. 172 and died in about A.D. 202. The next three reigns lasted, according to the Vâyu, for sixteen years. No trace of any of these has yet been found on this side of the country, but coins of Chandra Śrî are found near the original seat of government, and two of these are described by Mr. Thomas in the paper mentioned above. Thus the [35] latest Andhrabhritya date is A.D. 218. Maḍhârî-puta Sakasena of the Kâñherî inscription, the same

as the Mañharīputa of the Kolhāpur coins, has been identified with Śiva Śrī, the successor of Puñumāyi, by Panḍit Bhagvānlāl, and I also at one time concurred with him. But the identification is not, I think, tenable. He was probably led to it by his reading Śīrisena for Sakasena, but I have shown that the reading is incorrect. Mr Thomas has described a specimen of eleven coins found at Amrāvatī near Dharanikot, the legend on which he reads as *Sakasakasa*, but it is not unlikely *Sakasenasa*, "of Sakasena." Besides, Mañharīputra Śakasena could not have been the immediate successor of Puñmāyi for a reason which I have already given. One of the Kolhāpur coins figured by Panḍit Bhagvānlāl Indraji bears the names of both Gotamīputra and Mañharīputa, showing that the piece originally bearing the name of one of them was re-stamped with the name of the other. Mr Thomas thinks that it was originally Mañharīputra's coin. I think it was Gotamīputra's, for, if we see the other figured coins we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim and the legend. This in the present case is utilized and the name of Mañharīputra stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Mañharīputra Śakasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamīputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi. But, as we have seen, none of his three Purāṇic successors bore the name, and the name Śakasena is one which has nothing like it on the long list of the Andhrabhrityas. Still that king must have reigned at Dhanakaṭaka also if my surmise that Mr Thomas' Sakasaka is the same as Sakasena is correct. In the same manner, as observed before, Chatushparṇa Śātakarṇi's name Chaturapana does not appear in the Purāṇas. But the Purāṇas

Section VI

cannot be expected to give accurate information on these points. In the Mâtsya Purâna another Andhra dynasty of "seven princes sprung from the servants of the original Andhrabhritya family will," it is said, "come into power after that family becomes extinct."¹⁴ The Vâyu has got a similar verse the reading of which, however, is corrupt, but it appears that this new dynasty is there meant to be spoken of as having sprung from the Andhrabhritya family itself and must have constituted a separate branch cut off from the main line. And we can very well understand from the points already made out how such a branch could have constituted itself after Yajña Sri's ceasing to reign. Vâsishthîputra Sâtakarni whom I have identified with Chaturapana married a Kshatrapa lady. The Kshatrapas, as I have before observed, were foreigners, most probably Sakas who had become Hindus. Madhariputra was not unlikely the son of that lady. And thus he and his father Chaturapana formed, from the very fact of this marriage, a distinct line of princes. Chaturapana appears to have succeeded Yajña Sri, and Madhariputra to have reigned after Chaturapana. The durations of these reigns cannot be made out, but the latest date of the former is the thirteenth year of his reign, which probably corresponds [36] to 185 A.D. and of the latter the eighth. The dates of the later Sîtavâhanas are therefore these:

In Mahârâshtra

Pusumasi	A.D. 130—A.D. 154
Yajña Sri	A.D. 154—A.D. 172
Chatushparsi or Chaturapana	A.D. 172—was reigning in A.D. 192
Madhariputra	About A.D. 190—was reigning in about A.D. 197

Dates of the
later Sîtavâhanas

14 एताया समिता (त?) राज्ये नेपा भूमान्ये दृपा । सप्तो वार्षी

In Tallangana

Section VI.

Puṣumāyi	A D 154—A D 158
Śīva Śī	A D 158—A D 165
Śivaskanda	A D 165—A D 172
Yajñī Śī	A D 172—A D 202
Vijaya	A D 202—A D 208
Chandra Śī	A D 208—A D 211
Pulomavī	A D 211—A D 218

Thus then, the Andhrabhrityas or Śātavāhanas ruled over the Dekkan from B C 73 to about A D 218, *i.e.*, for about three centuries. For some time, however, they were dispossessed of the country by foreigners who belonged to the Śaka tribe. How long these were in power it is difficult to determine. If the Śaka era was established by the foreign conqueror after his subjugation of the country, and if his Satrap Nahapāna or his successor was overthrown by Gotamīputra or Puṣumāyi, six or seven years after Nahapāna's latest date, *viz* 46, the foreigners held possession of this country only for about fifty-three years.

[37] SECTION VII

POLITICAL AND LITERARY TRADITIONS ABOUT THE
SÂTAVÂHANAS OR SÂLIVÂHANAS

Section VII

THE period during which the Sâtavâhanas or Andhrabhrityas ruled over Mahârâshtra must have been a prosperous one in the history of the country. Hence several traditions with regard to different kings of this dynasty have been preserved. But that Sâlivâhana or Sâtavâhana was a family name has been forgotten, and different princes of the dynasty have been confounded and identified. Thus Hemachandra in his Deśikośa gives Sâlivâhana, Sâlana, Hâla, and Kuntala as the names of one individual, but we see from the list given above that the last two were borne by different princes, and both of them were Sâlivâhanas. In his grammar he gives Sâlivâhana as a Prâkrit corruption of Sâtavâhana. In modern times the Saka era is called the Sâlivâhana era or an era founded by Sâlivâhana. When it began to be attributed to him it is difficult to determine precisely. All the copper-plate grants up to the eleventh century speak of the era as Sâl anipâlâla, i.e., the era of the Saka king, or Sakaâla, i.e., the era of the Saka, and in an inscription at Bâdami it is stated to be the era beginning from "the coronation of the Saka king". Subsequently, the simple expression "Sâke, in the year of the Saka," was used, and thereafter Sâke or "in the Saka." The word Saka thus came to be understood as equivalent to "an era" generally, the original sense being forgotten. And since the era had to be connected with some great king it was associated with the name of Sâlivâhana whom tradition had represented to be

Sâlivâhana
Saka

such a king, and thus we now use the expression Section VII Sālivāhana Śāki, which etymologically can have no sense and is made up of the names of two royal families. The current legend makes Sālivāhana the son of a Brāhmaṇī girl who was a sojourner at Pañchāna and lived with her two brothers in the house of a potter. On one occasion she went to the Godavari to bathe, when Sesha, the king of serpents, becoming enamoured of her, transformed himself into a man and embraced her. In due course she gave birth to Sālivāhana, who was brought up in the house of the potter.¹ Some time after, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, to whom a certain deity had revealed that he was destined to die at the hands of the son of a girl of two years, sent about his Vetalī or king of Ghosts to find out if there was such a child anywhere. The Vetalī saw Sālivāhana playing with his girlish mother and informed Vikramāditya. Thereupon he invaded Pañchāna with a large army, but Sālivāhana infused life into clay figures of horses, elephants, and men, by means of a charm communicated to him by his father, the king of serpents, encountered [38] Vikramāditya, and defeated him. This descent of a king of Ujjayinī on Pañchāna I have already alluded to and endeavoured to explain. The Sālivāhana referred to in this tradition appears to be Puṣumāṇi who in conjunction with his father freed the country from the Sakas and fought with Chashṭana or Javādīman and Rudridāman whose capital appears to have been Ujjayinī. It was in consequence of some faint reminiscence of Puṣumāṇi Sālivāhana's relations with the

¹ The story about the girl and her serpent-lover is in the Kathāsaritsāgara mentioned with reference to Gaṇḍīya who was the son of the girl. Sālivāhana's origin is given differently.

Section VII

Sāta-
vāhana's
name in
connection
with the
Bṛihat-
kathā

Sakas and their Satrap kings that his name was attached to the era first used by his adversaries

There are also several literary traditions connected with the name of Sātavāhana or Sālivāhana. A work of the name of Bṛihatkathā written in that form of the Prākṛit which is called the Paisāchi or the language of goblins is mentioned by Dandin in his work the Kāvya-darsa.² Somadeva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara, and Kshemendra, the author of another Bṛihatkathā, profess to have derived their stories from this Paisāchi Bṛihatkathā. The stories comprised in this are said to have been communicated to Guṇāḍhya, who for some time had been minister to Sātavāhana, by a ghost of the name of Kāṇabhūti. They were written in blood and arranged in seven books. Guṇāḍhya offered them to king Sātavāhana, but he refused to receive such a ghastly work written in blood and in the language of goblins, whereupon Guṇāḍhya burnt six of them. Some time after, king Sātavāhana having been informed of the charming nature of those stories went to Guṇāḍhya and asked for them. But the last or seventh book alone remained, and this the king obtained from his pupils with his permission.³

Composition
of the
Kātantra
Grammar

It is narrated in the Kathāsaritsāgara that while Sātavāhana was, on one occasion, bathing with his wives in a tank in a pleasure-garden, he threw water at one of them. As she was tired, she told the king not to besprinkle her with water, using the words *modakaiḥ paritādaya mām*. The king not understanding that the first word was composed of two, *mā* "do not" and *udakaiḥ* "with waters," but taking it to be one word meaning "pieces of sweetmeat," caused sweetmeat to be brought and began to throw

pieces at the queen. Thereupon she laughed and told Section VII the king that he did not know the phonetic rules of Sanskrit, and that while she meant to tell him not to besprinkle her with water, he had understood her to say that she wanted him to throw pieces of sweetmeat at her. There was no occasion for sweetmeat at the place, and this ought to have led the king to the true sense, but he was not. Thereupon the king was ashamed of his own ignorance while his queen was so learned, and became disconsolate. Gunādhyā and Sarvavarmī, who were his ministers, were informed of the cause, and the former promised to teach him grammar in six years, though it was a study of twelve. Sarvavarmī, however, offered to teach the subject in six months, and his offer was accepted, but as it was not possible to do so, Sarvavarmī propitiated the god Kārtikeya or Skandī by his [39] self-mortifications, and the god communicated to him the first Sūtra of a new grammar Siddhōlarnasamamnāyah. Thereupon Sarvavarmī repeated the other Sūtras, when Kārtikeya said that if he had not been so hasty and allowed him to repeat the whole, the new grammar would have become superior to Pāṇini's, but since it could not be so now, it would be a small treatise—Kātantra, and would also be called Kalāpala after the tail of his peacock. This new grammar Sarvavarmī taught to the king.⁴ The same story is told by Tīrānāthī in his "History of Buddhism,"⁵ but he makes the name of the king to be Udayana, and of Sarvavarmī, Saptavarman, while the competitor of Sarvavarmī is represented by him to be Vararuchi instead of Gunādhyā. But Udayana is represented as a king reigning in Southern India and Sātavāhana in the form of

⁴ Kathāsaritsāgara, VI 108 & ff

⁵ Schiesner's Translation, p 73 & ff

Section VII Sāntivāhana is also mentioned in connection with the story as a southern king in whose dominions Vararuchi lived. As Udayana frequently figures in Buddhistic stories, the southern prince Sātavāhana is confounded with him, and this seems to be indicated by the fact that this Udayana is represented to have ruled over a country in the south, though the usual Udayana is a northern prince. It will thus appear that the Kātantra grammar was composed by Sarvavarman at the request of a prince of the Sātavāhana family. And this same thing appears to be alluded to even by Hwan Thsang when he says in connection with the shortening of the originally large work on grammar by Pāṇini and others, "lately a Brāhmaṇ of South India, at the request of a king of South India, reduced them, further to 2,500 ślokas. This work is widely spread, and used throughout all the frontier provinces, but the well-read scholars of India do not follow it as their guide in practice."⁶

Hāla's
Saptaśatī.

There is a work written in the old Mahārāshṭrī dialect called Saptaśatī, which is of the nature of an anthology consisting of Gāthās or stanzas in the Āryā metre, mostly on love matters. The author of this is in the third verse mentioned as Hāla, and ordinarily he is spoken of as Śālivāhana. Bāṇa speaks of it in a verse in the introduction to his Harshacharita as "an imperishable and refined repository of good sayings composed by Śālivāhana." Verses from it are quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the Dasarūpaka, in the Sarasvati Kāṇṭhābharaṇa, and in the Kāvyaprakāsa. There is, it will be observed, in the list of the Andhrabhritya princes, one of the name of Hāla, who probably was either the author of the work or to whom it was dedicated by a court-poet.

From these traditions we may, I think, safely conclude that literature flourished under the rule of the Andhrabhipitas, and that the Prakrits or spoken languages, especially the Mahârâshtri, were probably for the first time used for literary purposes. In Vatsavâya's Kamasûtra or Institutes of Love, Kuntalî Sâtakârni Sâtravâhana is spoken of as having killed Mahavati, who is called [40] Mahâdevî, and consequently must have been his chief queen, by means of a pair of scissors in connection with certain amorous sports.⁷ The name Kuntala occurs in the list given in the Mâtsya Purâna

Kuntala
Sâtakârni

7 कर्त्त्या कुन्तले ग्रासकार्ये श्रातवाहनो महादेवो मलयवती [जघान]

Prof Aufrecht's quotation in the Orf Cat, p 217 b, does not contain the name मलयवती, and he supplies गणिका from the preceding clause, but a Ganikâ or courtezan cannot be called Mahadevî

[41] SECTION VIII

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF
MAHÂRÂSHTRA UNDER THE ANDHRABHRITVAS
OR SÂTAVÂHANAS

Section VIII

Founders of
Benefac-
tionsWandering
Buddhist
mendicants

DURING this period the religion of Buddha was in a flourishing condition. Princes and chiefs calling themselves Mahâbhojas and Mahâraîthis, merchants (Naîgamas), goldsmiths (Suvarnakâras), carpenters (Vardhakas), corn-dealers (Dhânyakaśrenis) druggists (Gândhikas), and ordinary householders (Gîhasthas) caused at their expense temples and monasteries to be excavated out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of that religion. It has been mentioned that in the first part of this period the country was exposed to the inroads of foreign tribes, such as Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks, Sâkas, and Pahlavas. These afterwards settled in the country and adopted the Buddhist religion. For, among the donors and benefactors whose names are recorded in the cave inscriptions, there are a good many Sâkas and Yavanas. But some and especially the Sâkas seem to have adopted Brâhmaṇism. The Buddhist temples were provided with *chaityas* or tombs in imitation of those in which some relic of Buddha was buried, and these were objects of worship. The monasteries contained cells intended as residences for Bhikshus or mendicant priests. These travelled over the country during the year and spent the four rainy months at one of these monastic establishments. In the month of Srâvaṇa the monks held the ceremony of robing, at which the old clothes were thrown away and new ones worn. To provide these for them, charitable persons deposited, as we have seen,

sums of money with certain guilds with directions Section VIII that out of the interest new robes should be purchased and given to the priests. Villages were assigned by kings and their officers for the support of these religious establishments. The mendicant priests often travelled by sea, and hence at the head of several of the creeks in the Konkan we have cave monasteries intended as Dharmashalas or rest-houses for them. We have such caves at Chiplun, Mahiq, and Kudem situated respectively on the Dibhol, the Binko, and the Rupuni creeks. For those who landed at the head of the Bombay harbour or at Ghodbunder, there were the Kinhari caves.

Brahmanism also flourished side by side with Buddhism. In the inscription at Nasik in which Ushnividita dedicates the cave monasteries excavated at his expense for the use of the itinerant "priests of the four quarters," he speaks, as we have seen, of his many charities to Brahmins. The same notions as regards these matters prevailed then as now. Ushnividita fed a hundred thousand Brahmins as the Mahiraj Sindir did about thirty years ago. It is considered highly meritorious to get Brahmins married at one's expense then as now. Gotamiputra also, in the same inscription which records a benefaction in favour of the Buddhists, is spoken of as the only protector of Brahmins, and as having like Ushnividita [42] put them in the way of increasing their race. Kings and princes thus appear to have patronized the followers of both the religions, and in none of the inscriptions is there an indication of an open hostility between them.

Trade and commerce must also have been in a Trade and flourishing condition during this early period. Ships Commerce from the western countries came, according to the author of the Periplus, to Barugaza or Bharu-

Section VIII kachchha, the modern Bharoch, and the merchandise brought by them was thence carried to the inland countries Onyx stone in large quantities from Paiṭhan, and ordinary cottons, muslins, mallow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production from Tagara, were carried in waggons to Barugaza and thence exported to the west Paiṭhaṇ is placed by the author of the Periplus at the distance of twenty days' journey to the south of Barugaza, and is spoken of as the greatest city in Dakhinabades or Dakshināpatha, and Tagara, ten days' east of Paiṭhaṇ¹ This town has not yet been identified Its name does not occur in any of the cave inscriptions, but it is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of the first half of the seventh century, and princes of a dynasty known by the name of Silāhāra call themselves "sovereigns of Tagara, the best of towns," in all their grants Some have identified it with Devagiri and others with Junnar, but in both cases its bearing from Paiṭhan as given by the Greek geographers has not been taken into account I have elsewhere discussed the question, and have proposed Dhārur in the Nizām's territory as the site of the ancient city The other sea-port towns mentioned in the Periplus are Souppara, the modern Supārem or Supārā near Bassein and the Sorparaka of the inscriptions and the Purāṇas, where interesting Buddhistic relics were dug out by Mr Campbell and Pandit Bhagvānlāl, Kalliena, the modern Kalyāṇ, which must have been a place of great commercial importance since a good many of the donors whose names are inscribed in the caves at Kānheri and some mentioned in the caves at

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, pp. 143, 144

Junnar were merchants residing in Kalyān,² Semulla Section VIII. identified with Chembur by some and with Chaul by others, Mandagora, very likely the same as the modern Māndād, originally Mandagāḍa, situated on the Rājapurī creek near Kuḍem where we have the caves, Palaipatmai, which probably was the same as Pāl which is near Mahād, Melizegara, the second part of the name of which can at once be recognized as Jayagāḍ and which must be identified with that place whatever the first part Meli may mean, Buzantion, and others Buzantion is probably the Vaijayanti³ of the inscriptions, but with what modern town it is to be identified it is difficult to say Vaijayanti is mentioned in the Kadamba copper-plates translated by Mr Telang,⁴ and was most probably some place in North Kānara [43] In a grant of the Vijayanagar dynasty, Mādhava, the great counsellor of king Harihara, is represented to have been appointed viceroy of Jayantipura⁵ He then conquered Goa and seems to have made that his capital⁶ Jayantipura is said to be another name for Banavāsi In the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata, Banavāsi is spoken of as if it were the name of a country, and immediately after it, Jayanti is mentioned as a town⁶ If then Jayanti and Vaijayanti were two forms of the same name, Vaijayanti was probably the modern Banavāsi, or perhaps in consideration of the facts that the name of

² See the inscriptions in Jour B B R A S, Vol VI, and in Arch Surv, W India, No 10

³ Kārl No 1, Arch Surv West Ind, No 10

⁴ Jour B B R A S, Vol XII pp 318 and 321

⁵ Jour B B R A S, Vol IV, p 115

⁶ Chap XXXI, vv 69 and 70, Bom Ed The Vanavāsināḥ at the end of v 69 refers to the town or country of Banavāsi and ought properly to appear as Vanavāsikāṇ In the Purāṇas, too, Vanavāsikāḥ is given as the name of a people

Section VIII Vaijayanṭī occurs in an inscription at Kārlī and also that the Greek geographers in mentioning the places of note on the coast could not have run at once from Jayagaḍ to the southern limit of North Kānarā, Vaijayanṭī may be identified with Vijayadurg. But these objections are not of very great weight

Inland towns

It is not possible to ascertain the names of all the towns in the inland country that were in a flourishing condition during the time we have been speaking of. Besides Paṭhaṇ and Tagara there was Nāsik, which is mentioned in an inscription in one of the caves at the place and also at Bedṣā. The district about the town was called Govardhana. Junnar was another flourishing town, as is attested by the number of cave-temples at the place. But what its name was we do not know. The name Junnar, Junanara, Jūnanagara, or Jīrṇanagara, which means the old town, must have been given to it after it had lost its importance. I have already expressed my belief that it was the capital of Nahapāṇa. Puṇumāyi, who overthrew the dynasty of Nahapāṇa, is in one of the Nāsik inscriptions styled "lord of Navanara," meant probably for Navanagara or the new town. That he reigned at Paṭhaṇ we know from Ptolemy, and also from the many traditions about Śālivāhana which locate the person or persons bearing that name at that city. The Navanara, then, of the inscription was probably another name given to the town when Puṇumāyi re-established his dynasty, and, in contrast with it, Nahapāṇa's capital was called the "Old Town." Or perhaps Puṇumāyi wended the old town of Paṭhaṇ and called the new extension Navanara. What town existed near the group of caves at Kārlī and the adjoining places, we do not know. But the place spoken of in connection with the monastic establishment is in an inscription

named Valuraka,⁷ and the district in which it was situated is called Māmalāhāra,⁸ or the district of Māmala, the modern Māva]. Further south there was the town of Karahāṭaka, the modern Karhāḍ, which is mentioned in an inscription at Kuḍem⁹ and also in the Mahābhārata.¹⁰ Kolhāpur also must have been a flourishing town in those days, since a Buddhist stūpa containing the coins [44] we have already noticed and other remains of antiquity have been found there. The old name of the place is unknown. Either Karhāḍ or Kolhāpur must be the Hippocura of Ptolemy in which he locates Baleocuros whom we have identified with the Viśvāyakura of the Kolhāpur coins.

Persons engaged in trade and commerce probably acquired large fortunes. The great *chaitya* cave at Kārlī was caused to be constructed by a Seth (Śreshṭhin) of Vaijayanti, and in other places also, especially at Kānheri, their gifts were costly. There were in those days guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers, &c. Their organization seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation. Self-government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A *nigamasabhā* or town-corporation is also mentioned in one of Ushavadāta's Nāsik inscriptions, which shows that something like municipal institutions existed in those early days. It is also worthy of

Trade-guilds

⁷ No 14, Kārlī Arch Surv West Ind, No 10

⁸ *Ibid* No 19

⁹ No 20, Kuḍā Caves Arch Surv West Ind, No 10

¹⁰ In the place above referred to

Section VIII remark that the yearly interest on the 2000 *kārshāpanas* deposited by Ushavadāta was 100 *kārshāpanas*, and in another case that on 1000 and 75 showing that the rate of interest was not so high as it has been in recent times, but varied from five to seven and a half per cent per annum. If the rate of interest depends on the degree of security and bears an inverse ratio to the efficiency of government, it appears that the country was well governed notwithstanding political revolutions. To this result the efficient local organization spoken of above, which no changes of dynasties ever affected, must no doubt have contributed in a large measure

Communication between different parts of the country

Communication between the several provinces does not appear to have been very difficult. Benefactions of persons residing in Vaijayantī or Banavāsi, and Sorparaka or Supārā, are recorded in the cave at Kārlī, of a Nāsik merchant at Bedṣā, of some inhabitants of Bharukachchha and Kalyāṇ at Junnar, of natives of Northern India and Dāttāmitrī, which I have elsewhere shown was situated in Lower Sindh, at Nāsik, and of an iron-monger of Karahākaḍa or Karhāḍ at Kuḍem. On the other hand, gifts of natives of Nāsik and Karhāḍ are recorded on the stūpa at Bharhut which lies midway between Jabalpur and Allahābād.¹¹ Unless there were frequent communications between these places, it is not possible that the natives of one should make religious endowments at another.

¹¹ Cunningham's Stupa of Bharhut, pp 131, 135, 136, 138, 139

[45] SECTION IX

PROBABLE HISTORY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE
EXTINCTION OF THE ANDHRABHRITYAS AND THE
RISE OF THE CHÂLUKYAS

For about three centuries after the extinction Section IX. of the Andhrabhrityas, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country. The Mâtsya and the Vâyu, as observed before, place seven princes of a branch of the Andhrabhrityas after them, and I have given reasons to believe that the Madharîputra of the inscription and the coins referred to before was one of them. This branch seems to have been in possession of the whole extent of the country that was ruled over by their predecessors. If the fact, noticed before, of some coins of the later Kshatrapa kings being found in a village near Karhâd is to be regarded as evidence of their sway over this country and not to be attributed merely to commercial intercourse, the Kshatrapa dynasty also must be considered to have obtained possession of a portion at least of the Dekkan after the Sâtavâhanas. The earliest of these princes is Vijaya Sâha¹ (or Sena) whose date is 144² which, if the era is that of the Saka kings, corresponds to A D 222, while the latest date we have assigned to the Sâtavâhanas is about A D 218. The last of the princes whose coins are found near Karhâd is Visva Sâha (Sena), one of whose coins has the date 214 and another 224, corresponding to A D 292 and A D 302.³ About this time princes of

¹ *Jour B B R. A S.*, Vol VII, p 17

² *Ibid* p 28 (No 10)

³ *Ibid* No 15

Section IX the race of Âbhîras or cowherds must have come into power. Ten of them are mentioned in the Purâñas. In the Nâsik caves there is an inscription dated in the ninth year of Virasena Âbhîra, the son of Damarî and of Sivadatta Âbhîra.⁴ The characters in the inscription, though they do not differ much from those in the inscriptions of the later Andhrabhritya kings, must be regarded as more modern. The language is Sanskrit, which I regard as an indication of a later era. When the popular dialect became different from the Pâli, or the Pâli became less sacred, the people fell back upon the original Sanskrit for such purposes as those of recording religious gifts, and thus in all the later grants we find the Sanskrit used, while, from the times of Aśoka to the extinction of the Andhrabhrityas, the language used was mostly the Pâli, or, to speak more accurately, one or more of the Prâkritis of the period. The Âbhîras were in power for sixty-seven years according to the Vâyu Purâna. Many other dynasties are mentioned in the Purâñas as having ruled over the country. But the information given there is much more confused than in the case of the previous families. It appears that the dynasties that ruled over different parts of India at the same time are put together and confused with those that succeeded each other, so that it is not possible without extraneous assistance to determine their chronological relations.

Râshṭrakûṭas

[46] We have seen from the cave inscriptions that from remote times tribes of Kshatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Raṭṭhis or Râshṭrikas were predominant in the country. In the northern part of the Dekkan or Mahârâshtra these called them-

⁴ Jour B B R A S, Vol VII, No 15, 1nd Trims Inter Con 1874, p 341

selves "the Great Raṭṭhis or Mahāraṭṭhis, the Section IX. ancient Marāṭhās," but in other places the name in use must have been Raṭṭhis or Raṭṭhas, since we know of more modern chiefs in the Southern Marāṭhā Country who called themselves by that name. Some of the Raṭṭha tribes must have formed themselves into a family or group (kūṭa) and called themselves Raṭṭhakūṭa, and later on Rāṭhoda, the Sanskrit original of which is Rāshṭrakūṭa. Or the Rāshṭrakūṭa family was so called because it was the main branch of the race of the Raṭṭhas that had spread over the whole country. These native chiefs that ruled over the country must have been held in subjection by the Andhrabṛhṛityas during the continuance of their power, and also by the later Kshatrapas. But after the dynasties became extinct they must have resumed their independence. The Ābhīras held sway for some time and over a part of the country only, for the tradition of Gauļi or cowherd rulers which very probably refers to them is confined to the Nāsik and Khāndes districts. The Rāshṭrakūṭas probably rose to power about the same time as the Ābhīras. Hence in the inscriptions on the Miraj plates and the Yevur tablet first brought to light by Mr Wathen and Sir Walter Elliot,⁵ respectively, it is stated that Jaysimha, the founder of the Chālukya dynasty in the Dekkan, established himself in the country after having vanquished Indra, the son of Kṛishna of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. The Chālukya dynasty was, as will hereafter be seen, founded in the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era. From about the end of the third to the beginning of the

⁵ Jour R. A. S., Vols II., III., IV., Ind. Ant., Vol VIII., p. 12.

Section IX sixth century, therefore, the Dekkan was ruled over by princes of the Râshtrakûṭa family

Traikûṭakas An inscription on copper-plates found in the *chaitya* of one of the caves at Kâñheri is dated in the 245th year of a dynasty, which, if the word has been correctly lithographed, is called Strakûṭaka.⁶ But the published copy of the inscription was made in the time of Dr Bird and the plates themselves are not now available for re-examination. This Strakûṭaka, may be a mislection for Râshtrakûṭa. But it is not unlikely Traikûṭaka, as the late Pandit Bhagvânâlî contended. He has published a copper-plate charter issued from the camp of the victorious army of Traikûṭakas by a prince of the name of Darhasena⁷ in the year 207. Traikûṭaka was thus probably the name of a race and the prince belonged to it. And the Kâñheri inscription would show that this dynasty had an era of its own. From the form of the characters in the inscription, it appears that it was engraved in the latter part of the fifth century of the Christian era, so that the Traikûṭaka dynasty was founded about the middle of [47] the third century, i.e., after the extinction of the Sâtavâhanas. But further information about the dynasty is not available, and we do not know over what extent of country it ruled. But since the epoch of the era appears to be the same as that of the era used by the kings of Chedi, possibly the race of the Haihayas or Kalachuris which ruled over that province rose to power about 249 A.D. and held sway over a part of the Dekkan including the western coast up to the country of Lât. They were

⁶ Jour B B R A S, Vol, V, p 16, of the copies of the Kâñheri inscription

⁷ Jour B B R A S, Vol XVI, p 346

afterwards driven away by some other race and had Section IX
to confine themselves to Chedi. The resemblance
between the names Tripura⁶ the capital of the
dynasty and Trikūṭa is perhaps not fortuitous

[48] SECTION X

THE EARLY CHÂLUKYAS

Section X

Legendary origin

We will next proceed to an account of the princes who belonged to the dynasty called Chalikya, Chalukya, or Châlukya¹ A large number of inscriptions on copper-plates and stone tablets have amply elucidated the history of this dynasty. The legendary origin of this family is thus given by

1 Dr Fleet draws a distinction between Chalikya and Châlukya and asserts that "this last form belongs only to the restored dynasty commencing with Tâla II" and that "it does not occur in any of the genuine early inscriptions" But it does belong to the earlier dynasty also, and is found in genuine early inscriptions The best way to determine the point whether the first syllable was च or चा is to refer to verses containing the name, the metre of which will show the quantity unmistakably The inscriptions of the earlier dynasty are in prose, we must therefore refer to the versified grants of the Râshtrâkûṭas which speak of the dynasty supplanted by them In the Rûdhanpur grant of Govinda III (Ind ant, Vol VI, p 65), we have यथालुक्यकलाद्यून &c, in verse 3 In the Navasârî grant edited by me (Jour B B R A S, Vol XVIII, p 257), we have चामुक्यंशजसुधे यथमेव सुच्छो &c In three of the five grants of the eastern branch of the early dynasty edited by Dr Hultzsch we have चामुक्यानी कुलम् (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol I, pp 44, 47 & 57) The form चामुक्या is also frequently used The distinction between च and चा and the difference in sense in consequence of the lengthening of the vowel which Dr Fleet points out have place in the pure Sanskrit of Pâṇini and of the Brahmanas, but there is no room for them in names that came into use in the Prakrit period long after Sanskrit became a dead language Chalikya is some vernacular name which was Sanskritized into the various forms we actually find

Bilhaṇa, the author of the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, or life of *Vikramāditya* a prince of the later or restored Chālukya line. On one occasion when Brahmadeva was engaged in his morning devotions, Indra came up to him and complained of the sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the sacrificial rites or gave oblations to the gods. Brahmadeva looked at his *chuluka* or the hand hollowed for the reception of water in the course of his devotional exercise, and from it sprang a mighty warrior who became the progenitor of the Chālukya race. Some time after, two great heroes of the name of Hārīta and Mānavya were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction. The original seat of the dynasty was Ayodhyā, and in the course of time a branch of it established itself in the south.

*As stated in the opening lines of all the copper-plate grants of this family, the Chālukyas belonged to the Gotra or race of Mānavya and were the descendants of Hārīta. They were under the guardianship of the Seven Mothers and were led to prosperity by the god Kārtikeya. They obtained from Nārāyaṇa a standard with a boar represented on it, and fighting under that standard they subjugated all kings. The Yevur tablet and the Mīraj plates, referred to above, agree with Bilhaṇa in representing Ayodhyā as the original seat of the family. But since these were almost contemporaneous with the poet, all the three represent only the tradition that was current in the eleventh century. The first prince who raised the family to [49] distinction in the south was Jayasimha. He fought several battles with the reigning princes, and, among them, those belonging to the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, if the Yevur tablet is to be trusted, and acquired the

Jayasimha,
the first
prince

have been a Kalachuri prince, as the name Samikara-gana frequently occurs in the genealogy of the dynasty. Mangalisa is said to have carried his arms to both the eastern and the western seas. On the coast of the latter he conquered what is called Revatidvipa, or the Island of Revati. A copper-plate grant by a governor of this island was found near Goa,⁴ from which it would appear that Revati was very probably the old name of Redi⁵ situated a few miles to the south of Vengurlem. In an inscription in a cave-temple at Bidamî, it is stated that the temple⁶ was caused to be excavated by Mangalisa. He there placed an idol of Vishnu, and on the occasion of its consecration granted a village, out of the revenues of which a ceremony called Nârvanabali was to be performed and sixteen Brâhmans to be fed every day, and the residue to be devoted to the maintenance of recluses. This inscription is dated in the twelfth year of some reign when 500 years of the Saka era had elapsed. The reign in the [50] twelfth year of which the cave-temple was consecrated is taken to be the reign of Mangalisa. On this supposition Mangalisa began to reign in 489 Saka, but I have elsewhere⁷ brought forward what I consider to be very strong arguments to show that Mangalisa could not have come to the throne so early as that, and the only criticism⁸ that I have seen on my observations seems to me to be very unsatisfactory and serves only to confirm my statement. The reign referred to, therefore, is that

⁴ Jour B B R A S, Vol X, pp 365-6

⁵ Revati should, according to the usual rules, be corrupted to Revadî or Re a-dî and then to Redî

⁶ Ind Ant, Vol III, p 305

⁷ Jour B B R A S, Vol XIV, pp 23-25

⁸ Ind Ant, Vol X, 57-58

thus reigned from 489 Saka or A D 567 to 513 Saka Section X
or A D 591, that is, for twenty-four years

In the latter years of his reign *Mangalīśa* seems Death of
Mangalīśa to have been engaged in intrigues to keep his brother's son *Pulakesī* off from the succession and to place his own son on the throne. But *Pulakesī*, who had grown to be a prince of remarkable abilities, baffled all his intrigues, and by the use of energy and counsel he neutralized all the advantage that *Mangalīśa* had by the actual possession of power, and in the attempt to secure the throne for his son, *Mangalīśa* lost his own life and his kingdom.

Pulakesī, the son of *Kirtivarman*, succeeded *Pulakesī II*. His full title was *Satyīśvara Śri Pṛithvī-Vallabha Mahārāja*. From a copper-plate¹⁰ [51] grant executed in the third year of his reign and in 535 Saka, he appears to have come to the throne in 533 Saka or A D 611. After *Mangalīśa*'s death, the enemies whom his valour had kept in subjection rose on all sides. A prince of the name of *Appāyīka* and another named *Govinda* who very probably belonged to the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* race, since that name occurs frequently in the genealogy of that family, attacked the new Chālukya king. The former, who had horses from the northern seas in his army, fled away in fear when opposed by the powerful forces of *Pulakesī*, and the latter surrendered to him and becoming his ally was received into favour and rewarded.¹¹ He then turned his arms against the *Kadambas*, attacked *Banavāsi*, their capital, and reduced it. The prince of the *Ganga* family which

¹⁰ Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 73

¹¹ Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 242, line 8 of the inscription. From the words *cha*, *ekena* and *aparena* it is clear that two persons are here meant. But Dr Fleet in his translation makes both of them one, which is a mistake, and the translation, I must say, is unintelligible.

Section X ruled over the Chera¹² country situated about the modern province of Maisur, and the head of the Alupa¹³ race which probably held the province of Malabâr, became his allies. He then sent his forces against the Mauryas of the Konkan, who were vanquished without any difficulty. With a fleet of hundreds of ships he attacked Puri,¹⁴ which was the mistress of the western sea, and reduced it. The kings of Lîga, Mâlava, and Gurjara were conquered and became his dependents. About this time, there was a powerful monarch in Northern India whose name was Harshavardhana. He was king of Kanoj, but in the course of time made himself the paramount sovereign of the north. He then endeavoured to extend his power to the south of the Narmadâ, but was opposed by Pulakesi, who killed many of his elephants and defeated his army. Thenceforward, Pulakesi received or assumed the title of Paramesvara or lord paramount. This achievement was by the later kings of the dynasty considered the most important, and that alone is mentioned in their copper-plate grants in the description of Pulakesi II. Pulakesi appears to have kept a strong force on the banks of the Narmadâ to guard the frontiers. Thus, by his policy as well as valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Mahârâshtrikas containing ninety-nine thousand villages. The kings of Kosala and

¹² Ind Ant, Vol I, p 363, and Vol VII, p 168

¹³ The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabâr Coast

¹⁴ The town is called the Lakshmi of the Western Ocean. It was probably the capital of the Maurya king of the Konkan and afterwards of the Śilâhîras.

Kalugupta¹⁵ trembled at his approach and surrendered Section X to him. After some time he marched with a large army against the king of Kanchipuri or Conjeveram and had a race to the town. He then crossed the Kaveri and invaded the country of the Cholis, the Pandavas, and the Keralas. But these appear to have been his allies. After having in this manner established his supremacy throughout the south, he erected his capital and returned in peace. The date of the inscription from which the greater [52] portion of this narrative is taken is 556 Saka, corresponding to A.D. 611; so that Pulakesi's career of conquest had closed before A.D. 611.

It is in the reign of this king that Hwin Hwin Thsing, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, visited India ^{Thisang's account}. In the course of his travels through the country he visited Mahabhasa, which he calls Mo-lo-la-cha. He saw Pulakesi, whom he thus describes. "He is of the race of *Tatatahi* (Kshatrapas), his name is *Pu-lo-li* the his ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and beneficences. His subjects love him with perfect self-devotion."¹⁶ About Pulakesi's having withstood the power of Harshavardhana which we have before mentioned on the authority of inscriptions, Hwin Thsing speaks in these words. "At present the great king *Sriditya* (Harshavardhana) carries his victorious arms from the east to the west, he subdues distant peoples and makes the neighbouring nations fear him, but the people of this kingdom alone have not submitted. Although he be often at the head of all the troops of the five Indies, though he has summoned the bravest generals of all the kingdoms,

¹⁵ For the position of these countries, see See III para 2

¹⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 290

Section X

and though he has marched himself to punish them, he has not yet been able to vanquish their opposition. From this we may judge of their warlike habits and manners¹⁷ The Chinese traveller visited Mahârâshtra about the year A D 639, that is, five years after the inscription referred to above was incised. The kingdom, according to him, was six thousand *li* (1200 miles) in circuit and the capital was thirty *li*, and towards the west was situated near a large river. The soil, climate, and the character and general condition of the people of Mahârâshtra are thus described by him. "The soil is rich and fertile and produces abundance of grain. The climate is warm. The manners are simple and honest. The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insults them they will risk their lives to wipe out that affront. If one apply to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge they never fail to give warning to their enemy, after which each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they prepare for combat they drink wine to intoxicate them, and then one of these men, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand enemies. If they kill a man met upon the road the law does not punish them. When-

ever the army commences a campaign these braves march in the van to the sound of the drum. Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants. At the time of their coming to [53] blows they drink also strong liquor. They run in a body trampling everything under their feet. No enemy can stand before them. The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slighted the neighbouring kingdoms."

Pulakesi II appears undoubtedly to have been the greatest prince of this dynasty, and his fame reached even foreign countries. He is represented in an Arabic work to have sent an embassy to Chosroes II, king of Persia, who reigned from A.D. 591 to A.D. 628, in the thirty-sixth year of that prince's reign, and must have received one from him, either before or after¹⁸. During his reign the power of the Châlukyas was established over a very large extent of country. His younger brother Vishnuvardhana, otherwise called Vishamasiddhi, seems to have for some time been appointed to rule over the Sâtârâ and Pandharpur districts, since a copper-plate inscription of his found at Sâtârâ records the grant of a village situated on the southern bank of the Bhîmâ¹⁹. Vishnuvardhana afterwards obtained the province of Vengi between the lower Kṛishnâ and the Godâvarî, where he founded another flourishing branch of the Châlukya dynasty. Pulakesi's second brother Jayasimha must have been his brother's viceroy in the district about Nâsik. For, in a copper-plate grant found in the Igatpurî taluka of the district, Nâgavardhana, the son of Jayasimha, assigns the village of Balegrâma, which has been identified with the modern Belgâm.

¹⁸ Arch. Surv. W. India No 9 pp. 90-92

¹⁹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II, p. 11

Section X. Tarhâjâ about twelve miles to the north-east of Igatpuri, for the worship of the god Kâpîlîkesvara²⁰ The district in which the village was situated is in the grant called Goparâshtra. Similarly, Pulakesi's eldest son Chandrâditya ruled over the province which contained the Sâvantvâdi district. In a copper-plate grant, Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ, the queen of Chandrâditya, who is styled Prithvivallabha and Mahârâja or great king, assigns to certain Brîhmans a field along with the adjoining *Khajana* (modern Khâjana) or marshy land in the village of Kocharem situated on the coast about seven miles to the north of Vengurle in. In another grant found at Nerur, she assigns a field in the fifth year of *svarâjya* or "one's own reign." Now the reign referred to by this expression must be her husband's, so spoken of to distinguish it from that of his brother Vikramâditva, the second son of Pulakesi, who succeeded his father at the chief seat of government. Chandrâditya was a king, as the titles above given show, and it is proper that his crowned queen should speak of his reign as *svarâjya* or her reign. It is not necessary that charities such as those recorded in these grants should, like political offices or rights, be conferred by the reigning prince alone. The religious merit arising from them is sought [54] by women as much as by men, and hence a woman like Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ might, during the lifetime of her husband, give a field. The fact of her doing so does not necessitate the supposition that she was a ruler or a regent when she made these grants, as has been thought. She was simply the crowned

²⁰ *Jour B B R A S*, Vol II, p 4, first translated by Bâhî Câstri and then by me (*Jour B B R A S*, Vol XIV), and last of all by Dr Fleet (*Ind Ant*, Vol IX, p 123)

queen of a reigning monarch at that time. Another son of Pulakesi named *Ādityavarman* seems to have ruled over the district near the confluence of the *Kṛishnā* and the *Tungabhadrā*,²¹ as a copper-plate grant of his issued in the first year of his reign was found in the Karnul District. An undated grant of Pulakesi found at Chiplun in Southern Konkan has recently been published. In it he sanctions the grant of the village of *Āmravātaka* made by his maternal uncle *Śrivallabha Senānandarāja* "the *Sendraka* ornament" of the *Sendraka* race.²² This appears to be a family of minor chiefs with whom the Chālukyas were connected. A similar grant was made by the next king at the request of the *Sendraka* chief *Devasakti*.²³ Inscriptions of *Sendrakas* are found in Gujarāt also, where probably they went when the power of the Chālukyas was established in that province. The name *Sendraka* is probably preserved in the modern Marāṭhā name *Sinde*.

Pulakesi was succeeded by his second son *Vikramāditya* I. In the grants he is called Pulakesi's *pryatana* or favourite son, so that it appears that Pulakesi had arranged that *Vikramāditya* should succeed him at the principal seat of government, and had assigned an outlying province to his eldest son *Chandrāditya*. At the beginning of this reign as of the previous ones there was a disturbance, but it did not come from the princes or chiefs more to the north who seem to have now been permanently humbled, but from the far south. The Pallava king of *Kāñchī* or *Conjeveram* and the rulers of the

²¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 244, and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 223.

²² Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 51.

²³ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 228. See also below.

Section X

Cholas, the Pândyas, and the Keralas threw off the yoke which Pulakeśi had but loosely placed over them, and rebelled Vikramâditya, who was a man of abilities and daring adventure, broke the power of the Cholas, Pândyas, and Keralas. He defeated the Pallava king, captured his capital Kâñchi, and compelled him, who had never before humbled himself before anybody, to do him homage. On the back of his horse Chitrakanṭha and sword in hand he is said to have repelled all the enemies that attacked him. In this manner he acquired again the whole of the dominions ruled over by his father, and became the paramount sovereign of the country "between the three seas."²⁴

A branch
of the
Châlukya
dynasty
established
in southern
Gujarât

During the reign of Vikramâditya I a branch of the Châlukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarât or the country called Lâṭa in ancient times. Vikramâditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasimhavarman Dharâsraya, [55] who thus was another son of Pulakesi II.²⁵ Sryâśraya Sîlâditya son of Jayasimha made a grant of land while residing at Navasârî in the year 421,²⁶ and another in 443 while encamped at Kusumeśvara with his victorious army.²⁷ In both of these Sryâśraya is called Yuvarâja or prince-regent and not a king. Another son of Jayasimha named Vinayâditya Yuddhamalla Sryâśraya Mangalarâja issued a similar charter in the Saka year 653.²⁸ Pulakeśi, who represents himself as the

²⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 86, 89, 92, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III, p. 203, and Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 127, 130-131

²⁵ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 2

²⁶ Ibid. pp. 2 & 3

²⁷ Transactions VII. Or Congr., p. 226

²⁸ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., p. 5

younger brother of Jayâsraya Mangalarasarâja and as meditating on his feet, granted a village in the year 490²⁹ Both are styled kings From all this it appears that Javasimhavarman though made sovereign of southern Gujarat did not rule over the province himself but made his son Śrîsraya his regent He held that position for more than twenty-two years, and does not appear to have become king in his own right, as he is not mentioned in Pulakesi's grant Pulakesi, however, seems from his date to be his younger brother Śrîsraya died before his father, Jayâsraya succeeded the latter as king and he was succeeded by Pulakesi The dates 421, 443, and 490, the era of which is not given, would if referred to the Gupta era be equivalent to 739, 761, and 808 of the Christian era respectively, while Jayâsraya's 653 Saka is 731 A D But Vinayâditya the sovereign of the main branch who is mentioned in the grant of 443 died about 697 A D³⁰ and Jayasimha whose Yuvarâja was Śrîsraya will have to be supposed to have lived to 761 A D i.e., 81 years after the death of his brother Vikramâditya, while the interval between Pulakesi and his immediate predecessor Jayâsraya will become 77 years, as Saka 653 of the latter corresponds to 731 A D The Gupta era will, therefore, not do, and we must with the late Pañdit Bhagvânâlî refer the dates to the Traikûtaka era of the use of which we have at least two instances Thus Śrîsraya's dates will be 670 and 692 A D, of Jayâsraya 731 A D and of Pulakesi 739 A D, and there will be no incongruity But the original dates themselves 421 and 490 show the distance of time between Śrîsraya and Pulakesi to be 69 years, and if we take the later

²⁹ Transactions VII Or Congr, p 230

³⁰ See below

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date of the former it will be reduced to 47 years. Even this is too much and the only way to account for it is by supposing that the two youngest sons of Jayasimha Dharâstraya were born of a young wife married when he was advanced in years. In Pulakeśi's grant it is stated that he vanquished an army of Tâjikas which had destroyed the Sañdhava,³¹ Kachchhella,³² Saurâshṭra, Châvoṭaka,³³ Maurya,³⁴ Gurjara³⁵ and other kings, and on its way to Dakshinâpatha to conquer the southern kings had come to Navasârî to reduce that country first. Thereupon Valla [56] bhanarendra, who must have been Vijayâditya or Vikramâditya II the reigning sovereign of the main branch, conferred upon him the titles of "Pillar of Dakshinâpatha" (Dakshinâpathasâdhâra), "Ornament of the family of Chaluka" (Chalukakulâlatikâra), "Beloved of the earth" (Pṛithivivallabha), the "Repeller of the unrepellable" (Anivartakanivartayitri) and "Support of men in the world" (Avanijanâśraya). As "Tâjika" is a name applied to Arabs, from which the name "Tajika" of a branch of astrology borrowed in the first instance from the Arabs is derived, the allusion in this grant is to an Arab invasion. And we have a mention of such invasions between the years 711 A D and 750 A D by Mahammad Kasim and his successors.³⁶ Navasârî was the capital of the Châlukyas of Lîṭa or southern Gujarât.

³¹ King of Sindh

³² Very likely King of Kachchha

³³ King of Anahilpattan of the Châpotkaṭa race

³⁴ King of the Maurya race, probably ruled over some part of the Konkan and the coast of southern Gujarât

³⁵ King of the Gurjara race, ruled over the Dronchi District

³⁶ Elphinstone's Hist. of India

A copper-plate grant of the Gujarât Châlukyas Section X. found at Kherâ and translated by Prof Dowson contains the names of three princes, *viz.*, Jayasimharâja, ^{A spurious} Châlukya Buddhavarmanrâja, and Vijayarâja ³⁷ Scholars and grant antiquarians have understood the first of these to be the same as Jayasimha the founder of the Châlukya dynasty of the Dekkan. But I think the prince meant is Jayasimhavarman, the brother of Vikramâditya I and founder of the Gujarât branch of the dynasty, for nothing has hitherto been discovered connecting the early Châlukya princes with Gujarat. The grant, however, appears to me to be a forgery ³⁸. The Buddhavarman mentioned in it, if he existed at all, must have been another son of Jayasimhavarman, besides the two spoken of above, and he and his son Vijayarâja must have ruled over another part of Gujarat. If the grant is to be regarded as genuine, the date ³⁹ 394 will have to be referred to the Gupta era.

After Vikramâditya I, his son Vinayâditya came ^{Vinayâditya} to the throne. One of his grants is dated Saka 611, which was the tenth year of his reign, ³⁹ another in 613 Saka and in the eleventh year, and a third in 616 Saka and the fourteenth year ⁴⁰. There is also an inscription of his on a stone tablet, the date occur-

³⁷ Jour R A S, Vol I, p 268

³⁸ My reasons are these - (1) Its style is unlike that of the Châlukya grants (2) It does not contain the usual invocation to the Boar incarnation (3) It simply gives the three regulation names, *i.e.*, so many as are prescribed, in the legal treatises (4) There is a uniform mode of naming the three princes, by adding the suffix *râja*, a mode not to be met with in the genuine Châlukya grants (5) None of the three princes has a title or *Bîruda* as all Châlukya princes from Pulakesî I downwards had

³⁹ Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 86

⁴⁰ Ibid, pp 89, 92

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ing in which is 608 Saka and the seventh year of his reign⁴¹ From these it appears that Vinayāditya came to the throne in 602 Saka corresponding to A.D. 680, in which year his father Vikramāditya must have ceased to reign. His latest is A.D. 694, but his reign terminated in A.D. 696 as is seen from his son's grants referred to below. During his father's lifetime, Vinayāditya assisted him in his wars with the southern kings and won his love by destroying the forces of the Pallava king and of the other three, i.e., Chola, Pāṇḍya, and Kerala, and tranquilizing the country. Between the eleventh and fourteenth years of his reign (A.D. 692—A.D. 695) he succeeded in making the Pallavas, [57] Kālambhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Mālavas, Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, and others as steadfast allies of the Chālukya crown as the Ganga family of Chera and the Alupas whose loyalty was for the first time secured by Pulakesī II.⁴² The kings of Kāvera, or Kerala as it is read in some of the grants, of the Pārasikas, who were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabār, and of Simhala were made tributaries. He also seems, like his grandfather, to have fought with and defeated some paramount sovereign of Northern India whose name is not given, and to have acquired all the insignia of paramountcy, such as a certain standard called *Pālidhvaya*, the drum called *Dhakkā*, and others. These events must have taken place after 616 Saka, since they are not mentioned in his grant of that year, but in those of his successors.⁴³ A

⁴¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 112.

⁴² This fact is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p. 92) and in those of his successors.

⁴³ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., pp. 127 and 131.

Section X

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⁴³ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., pp. 127 and 131.

chief of the name of Mahârâjî Pogilli of the Sendraka family was a feudatory of his in the south about Maisur ⁴⁴ Section X.

Vinayâditya was succeeded by his son Vijay- Vijayâditya aditya He appears to have assisted his grandfather in his campaigns against the southern kings and his father in the expedition into the north At one time he was captured by his enemies, though they had been defeated and were retreating Notwithstanding he was in their custody he succeeded in averting anarchy and disturbance in his own country, and when he got off, established his power everywhere and bore all the insignia of supreme sovereignty There is an inscription at Bâdâmi in which it is stated that during his reign, idols of Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Mahesvara were put up at Vâtâpîpura in Saka 621 and the third year of his reign One of his grants was issued in Saka 622 on the full-moon day of Âshaḍha and in the fourth year of his reign, another in Saka 627 and in the tenth year, and a third in Saka 651 on the full-moon day of Phâlguna and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign ⁴⁵ On a comparison of all these dates it follows that his reign began in 618 Saka after the full-moon day of Âshaḍha corresponding to A D 696 The first two of these grants, and another which bears no date, were found at Nerur in the Sâvantvâḍî state ⁴⁶ Vijayâditya had a long reign of thirty-six years

After Vijayâditya, his son Vikramâditya II ascended the throne A grant of his, engraved on a stone tablet, is dated in 656 Saka and in the second

Vikramâditya II

⁴⁴ Ind Ant, Vol XIX, p 143

⁴⁵ Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 112

⁴⁶ Ind Ant, Vol IX, pp 127 and 131, and Jour B B R A S, Vol III, p 203, *et seq*

Section X year of his reign,⁴⁷ wherefore he must have come to the throne in 655 Saka or A D 733. Soon after his coronation he had to turn his arms against his hereditary enemy the Pallava king. The name of the prince who reigned at the Pallava capital at this time was Nandipotavarman. Vikramāditya marched against him in haste and encountered him in the Tūdāka country. Nandipotavarman was defeated and had to fly away from the battle-field. [58] The Chālukya king got a good deal of spoil in the shape of large quantities of rubies, elephants, and instruments of martial music. He then entered the city of Kāñchi, but did not destroy it. In that city he gave a good deal of money to Brāhmaṇas and to the poor and helpless, and restored to the temples of Rājasimheśvara and other gods the gold which, it appears, had been taken away by some previous king. He then fought with the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Keralas, and the Kaṭabhras, and reduced them.⁴⁸ Vikramāditya married two sisters belonging to the family of the Haihayas. The elder of these was called Lokamahādevī and she built a temple of Śiva under the name of Lokeśvara, at Paṭṭadakal in the Kalādgi district. The younger's name was Trailokymahādevī, and she built another in the vicinity dedicated to the same god under the name of Trailokyeśvara. The latter was the mother of Kirtivarman the next king.⁴⁹ Vikramāditya reigned for fourteen years.

Kirtivarman II His son Kirtivarman II began to reign in 669 Saka or A D 747, since a grant of his, made in the

⁴⁷ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 107

⁴⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 26

⁴⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 165. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., p. 5

eleventh year of his reign, bears the date 679 Śaka ⁵⁰ Section X.
 He assisted his father in his wars with the Pallavas
 On one occasion he marched against the Pallava king
 with his father's permission The ruler of Kāñchi,
 too weak to face him in the battle-field, took refuge
 in a fortress His power was broken by the Chālukya
 king, who returned to his country with a large spoil
 During the reign of this prince the Chālukyas were
 deprived of their power in Mahārāshtra, and the Overthrow
 sovereignty of the country passed from their hands of the
 into those of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes The main Chālukyas
 branch of the dynasty became extinct, but it had
 several minor offshoots, and one of these in the person of Tailapa succeeded in the course of time
 in regaining supreme power From this time for-
 ward, therefore, we do not meet with any copper-
 plate grants issued by the Chālukyas, but Rāshtrakūṭa plates belonging to this intervening period are
 met with from Rādhanpur in Northern Gujarāt to
 Sāmangāḍ near Kolhāpur and Nāgpur in the Central
 Provinces The grant of Kīrtivarman II, from
 which the above account of that prince is taken, does
 not allude to the fact of his disgrace, but he must
 have lost possession of the greater portion of his
 kingdom before Śaka 679, the date of the grant
 The name of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch who first
 humbled the Chālukyas was Dantidurga, and the
 work begun by him was completed by his successor
 Krishṇa In a copper-plate grant of the former found
 at Sāmangāḍ he is spoken of as having become para-
 mount sovereign after having vanquished Vallabha ⁵¹
 The date occurring in the grant is 675 Śaka Before
 that time, therefore, the Chālukyas must have lost

⁵⁰ Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 27

⁵¹ Jour B B R A S, Vol II, p 375

Section X their hold over Mahârâshtra. In the Yevur tablet and the Mîraj plates the Châlukyas are spoken of as having lost sovereign power in the reign of Kirtivarman II. We will therefore here close our account of the early Châlukyas.

Jainism
under the
Châlukyas

[59] During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Châlukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence. Ravikirti, the Jaina who composed the Aihole inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronized by Pulakeśi II. Vijayâditya gave a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple to Udayadevapandita or Niravadyapandita, the house pupil of Śripûjyapâda, who belonged to the Devagana sect of the Mîlasamgha, i.e. of the Digambara Jainas. Niravadyapandita is spoken of as a spiritual adviser of Vijayâditya's⁵² father, i.e. Vinayâditya. Vikramâditya II repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Vijayapandita, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in argument and is styled the only disputant⁵³. But Jainism in those days, as at present, probably flourished in the Southern Marâthâ Country only. If the Pûjyapâda who was the preceptor of Niravadyapandita was the famous grammarian of that name, he must have flourished some time before 618 Saka, the date of Vinayâditya's death, i.e. about 600 Saka or 678 A.D. All that is known about Pûjyapâda and his relations to other Digambara writers is not inconsistent with this date. But another date two hundred years earlier has also been assigned to Pûjyapâda.

Buddhism

No inscription has yet come to light showing any close relations between the Buddhists and the

⁵² Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 112.

⁵³ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 197.

Châlukya princes But that the religion did prevail, Section X and that there were many Buddhist temples and monasteries, is shown by the account given by Hwan Thisang Still there is little question that it was in a condition of decline With the decline of Revival of Buddhism came the revival of Brâhmanism and especially of the sacrificial religion The prevalence of the religion of Buddha had brought sacrifices into discredit, but we now see them rising into importance Pulakesi I is mentioned in all the inscriptions in which his name occurs as having performed a great many sacrifices and even the Asvamedha I have elsewhere⁵⁴ remarked that the names of most of the famous Brâhmanical writers on sacrificial rites have the title of *Svâmin* attached to them, and that it was in use at a certain period, and was given only to those conversant with the sacrificial lore The period of the early Châlukyas appears to be that period Amongst the Brâhman grantees of these princes we have Nandisvâmin, Lohasvâmin, and Bhallasvâmin,⁵⁵ Dâsasvâmin the son of Jñnnasvâmin and grandson of Revâsvâmi-Dikshita,⁵⁶ Devasvâmin, Karkasvâmin, Yajñasvâmin, Nâgammâsvâmin, another Devasvâmin, Gargasvâmin, Rudrasvâmin,⁵⁷ Prabhâkarasvâmin, Kesavasvâmin,⁵⁸ &c There are others whose names have not this title attached to them Among these names there are three borne by the great commentators on sacrificial sûtras and rites, viz Karkasvâmin, Devasvâmin, and Kesavasvâmin [60] Though it would be hazardous to assume that these writers were

⁵⁴ Report on MSS for 1884, pp 31, 32

⁵⁵ Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 77

⁵⁶ Ind Ant, Vol IX, 128

⁵⁷ Ind Ant, Vol IX, p 131

⁵⁸ B B R A S, Vol XVI, pp 237, 239

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exactly the persons who are mentioned in the grants with those names, still it admits of no reasonable doubt that they are to be referred to the period when the Châlukyas reigned in Mahârâshtra, and probably flourished in the Dekkan or the Telugu and Kanarese countries. For the revival of Brahmanism was carried on vigorously in the Southern India. The ritual of the sacrifices must during the previous centuries have become confused, and it was the great object of these writers to settle it by the interpretation of the works of the old Rishis.

And the Purânic side of Brahmanism also received a great development during this period. Temples in honour of the Purânic triad, Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Maheśvara with a variety of names were constructed in many places. The worship of Sîva in his terrific form seems also to have prevailed, as the Nâsik grant of Nâgavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kâpâlhîkesvara, or the god wearing a garland of skulls, would show. Cave architecture came to be used for the purposes of the Purânic religion about the time of the early princes of the dynasty, as we see from the cave-temple at Bâdâmi dedicated to the worship of Vishnu by Mangalîsa. The Châlukyas, like their predecessors in previous times, were tolerant towards all religions.

Purânic gods

Cave architecture

[61] *Genealogy of the early Chalukyas*

1 JAYASIMHA						
2 RANARÂGA						
3 PULAKESI I —Satyâsraya Sri Pulakesi Vallabha						
4 KIRTIVARMAN I, Saka 489—513 or A D 567—591	5 MANGALSA, Saka 513—532 or A D 591—610					
6 PULAKESI II —Satyâsraya Sri Labha, began to reign in Saka 532 or A D 610, was on the throne in Saka 556 or A D 634, and seen by Hwan Thsang in A D 639	Prithvi val-	Vishnuvardhana, founded the cast-	Jayasimha			
Chandra- 7 VIKRAMADITYA I, Aditya- ditya ceased to reign in varman Saka 602 or A D 680	Jayasimhi- havarmman	ern Chalukya d- nasty	Nâgavar- dhana			
8 VINAYÂDITYA, Saka 602—619 or A D 680—697						
9 VIJAYÂDITYA, Saka 618—655 or A D 696—733						
10 VIKRAMADITYA II, Saka 655—669 or A D 733—747						
11 KIRTIVARMAN II, Saka 669 or A D 747, deprived of supreme sovereignty by Dantidurga before Saka 675 or A D 753						

[62] SECTION XI

THE RÂSHTRAKÛTAS

Section XI

THE Râshtrakûtas are represented to have belonged to the race of Yadû¹ According to the Wardhâ plates they were members of the Sâtyaki branch of the race , and were the direct descendants of a prince of the name of Rat्तa He had a son of the name of Râshtrakûta after whom the family was so called These are clearly imaginary persons , and as remarked before, the Râshtrakûta family was in all likelihood the main branch of the race of Kshatriyas named Rat्तhas who gave their name to the country of Mahârâshtra, and were found in it even in the times of Aśoka the Maurya The Râshtrakûtas were the real native rulers of the country and were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin, such as the Sâtavâhanas and the Châlukyas who established themselves in the Dekkan and exercised supreme sovereignty, but were never extirpated The earliest prince of the dynasty mentioned in the grants hitherto discovered is Govinda I But in an inscription in the rock-cut temple of the Daśavatâras at Elurâ the names of two earlier ones, Dantivarman and Indrarâja, occur² The latter was Govinda's father and the former his grandfather Govinda I was probably the prince of that name who in Ravikirti's inscription at Aihole is spoken of as having attacked the Châlukya king Pulakesi II and to have afterwards become his ally

Govinda I

¹ Khârepâtan plate, Jour B B R A S , Vol I , p 217, Sângâli plates, B B R A , Vol IV , p 111 , Navasâri plates and Wardhâ plates, Jour B B R A S , Vol XVIII p 239 et seq

² Arch Surv West Ind , No 10, pp 92—96

Govinda was succeeded by his son Karka, during whose reign the Brîhmans performed many sacrifices and who seems to have patronized the old Vedic religion. After him his son Indravarja came to the throne. Indravarja married a girl who belonged to the Châlukya family, though on her mother's side she was connected with the lunar race, probably that of the Râshîtrikâs themselves. From this union sprung Dantidurga, who became king after his father. With a handful of soldiers Dantidurga defeated the army of Karnârîka, which hitherto had achieved very great glory by vanquishing the forces of the kings of Kâñchi, the Keralas, Cholas, and Pândyas, and of Sriharsha, the lord paramount of Northern India, and Vajravâla,³ and thus conquered Vallabha or the last Châlukya king Kirtivarman II. with ease. He thus acquired paramount sovereignty in the south.⁴ He also subdued the kings of Kâñchi, Kalinga, Kosala, Sri-Saila,⁵ Mâlava, Lît, and [63] Tanka. At Ujjayini he gave large quantities of gold and jewels in charity.⁶ A grant of Dantidurga found at Samangad in the Kolhapur district bears the date 675 of the Śîka era, corresponding to A.D. 753.⁷

Dantidurga died childless according to a grant found at Kardâ,⁸ and his paternal uncle Krishnarâja succeeded to the throne. Another grant found at

³ The army of Karnârîka was thus the army of the Châlukyas.

⁴ Samangad grant, p. 375, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II.

⁵ This must have been the country about Sri-Saila which contains the celebrated shrine of Mallikârjuna and which is situated on the lower Krishna in the Karnal district, Madras Presidency.

⁶ Arch. Surv. West Ind., No. 10 loc. cit.

⁷ Referred to above.

⁸ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. III.

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Baroda⁹ omits the name of Dantidurga, since the object of the writer was simply to give the pedigree of the reigning monarch, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral, and not to give the names of all the previous kings. In that grant Krishnarâja is spoken of as having "rooted out" a prince belonging to the same family with himself who had taken to evil ways and to have himself assumed the task of governing for the "benefit of his race." The prince dethroned or destroyed by Krishnarâja could not have been Dantidurga, as has been supposed by some writers, since he was a powerful monarch who for the first time acquired supreme sovereignty for his family. In a grant found at Kâvi, and another found in the Navasârî district, Krishna is represented to have succeeded to the throne after Dantidurga's death¹⁰. The prince whom he set aside, therefore, must either have been a son of Dantidurga or some other person with a better claim to the throne than himself. The statement of the Kardâ plate that Dantidurga died childless may be discredited as being made two hundred years after the occurrence.

Krishnarâja, otherwise called Subhatungî and also Akâlavarsha, carried on the work of Dantidurga and reduced the Châlukyas to complete subjection. In two of the grants¹¹ he is spoken of "as living with the aid of gods in the form of his counsellors or followers churned the ocean of the Chalukya race which had been resorted to by mountains in the

⁹ Published in Jour Reng A S, Vol VIII, pp 292-393

¹⁰ See stanza 11 (p 146, Ind Ant, Vol V,) of the first half of which only शिविरा [शिविरा] remains, and lines 15 and 16, Jour B B R A S, Vol XVIII, p 257, n 11, 15

¹¹ Vanî Dindori, Jour R A S, Vol V, and Râdhâpur, Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 65

shape of kings afraid of their wings or power being destroyed¹²—an ocean that was inaccessible to others,—and drawn out from it the Lakshmi¹³ of paramount sovereignty He is said to have defeated Râhappa who was proud of his own power and prowess, and afterwards assumed the ensigns of supreme sovereignty Who¹⁴ this person was we have not the means of determining In the Wardhâ plates he is represented to have constructed many temples of Šiva, [64] which resembled the Kailâsa mountain¹⁵ In the Baroda grant it is stated that Kṛishṇarâja “caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elâpura When the gods moving in their aerial cars saw it they were struck with wonder and constantly thought much over the matter saying to themselves, ‘This temple of Šiva is self-existent, for such beauty is not to be found in a work of art’ Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regards making another similar attempt, ‘Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it’ King Kṛishṇa with his own hands again decorated Šambhu (Šiva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies,

Temple of
Šiva at
Elurâ
excavated at
the orders of
Kṛishṇarâja

¹² The legend is that in early times mountains had wings, and as they did considerable mischief by their use, Indra set about cutting them The mountains thereupon took refuge in the sea The story originated from the double sense which the word *parvata* bears in the Vedas It denotes “a mountain” and “a cloud” also Indra was the god who prevented the clouds from flying from place to place, and compelled them to discharge their freight on the earth for the benefit of his human worshippers

¹³ Vishnu churned the ocean with the aid of the gods and drew out Lakshmi from it, whom he married

¹⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 182, 1. 13

¹⁵ Loc. cit.

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and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the stream of the Gangâ, the moon, and the deadly poison" The ending *pura* in the names of towns, when it undergoes a change at all, is invariably changed to *ur*, as in Sihur for Simhipura, Indur for Indrapura, Sirur for Sripura, &c. The Elâpura of the inscription, therefore, is Elur, and the temple described in the grant in such terms must be one of those excavated on the hills at the place, perhaps the temple of Kailâsa itself¹⁶ Thus it appears that it was Kâshînarâja that caused the Kailâsa to be constructed, and the date assigned to

¹⁶ Dr Bühler in his paper in Vol VI, Ind Ant, simply states that the "grant (Baroda) connects him (Kâshînarâja) with the hill at Elâpur, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Siva" He has not identified Elâpura and did not perceive the important significance of this and the next two stanzas He, however, suspected that one of the verses was badly deciphered That this and the following verses are somewhat badly deciphered there is no doubt, but the translation in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal is far worse and Dr Bühler was misled by it Dr Fleet has published a revised translation (Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 162), but as regards this passage it certainly is no improvement on the first He also once spoke of "a hill fort" (Ind Ant, Vol XI, p 123), and now thinks Elapura is in the passage meant to be represented as Kâshînarâja's "encampments" He identifies Elapuri with Yellapur in the North Kanara districts But the manner in which the temple is described according to my translation and also the obvious derivation of Elur from Elapura, and Eluri from Elapurâ, leave little doubt that a rock-cut temple at Eluri is meant to be spoken of and actually the existence of a Rashîralîsa inscription in one of the temples confirms my conclusion That my translation is correct and appropriate, I have shown in an article published in the Indian Antiquar, Vol XII, p 228, where the reader will find the point fully discussed

appear to have reigned long, as his brother was on the throne in Saka 705 and his son in Saka 716, the year in which the Paithan charter was issued

Dhruvi Nirupama was succeeded by his son Govinda III. The Radhanpur and Vani-Dindori grants were issued by him in the Saka year 730 corresponding to A.D. 808²² while he was at [66] Mayurakhaṇḍi. This place has been identified with a hill-fort in the Nisik territory of the name of Morkhaṇḍi. Whether Mayurakhaṇḍi was the capital of the dynasty in the time of this king cannot be satisfactorily determined. Govinda III was certainly one of the greatest of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes, and the statement in his grant that during his time the Rāshtrakūṭas became invincible, as the Yādavas of Purīṇic history did when under the guidance of Kṛishna, appears credible. Seeing he had grown up to be a brave prince his father proposed to abdicate the throne in his favour, but he declined, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with his position as Yuvarāja or prince-regent.²³ When after his father's death he ascended the throne, twelve kings united their forces and rose against him,

²² The Samvatsara or cyclic year given in the first is *Sarājīt* the current Saka year corresponding to which was 730 while in the second it is *lājaya* corresponding to 729 current. As regards the exact signification to be attached to these dates, see Appendix B.

²³ The Kāvi grant, however, states that the father did raise him to the supreme sovereignty which his enemies were endeavouring to deprive his family of, i.e., when he found the enemies of his family too powerful for him, he raised his son to the throne and assigned to him the task of suppressing them. Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 147, v. 27. The reading, however, is somewhat corrupt. The enemies spoken of here must be those twelve whom he is represented to have vanquished in the other grants.

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desirous of striking an effectual blow at the power of the Rāshtrakūṭas. But alone and unassisted, he by his personal valour suddenly inflicted a crushing defeat on them and broke the confederacy. He released the Ganga prince of Chera, who had been kept in custody by his father, but no sooner did he go back to his native country than he put himself into an attitude of hostility. But Govinda III immediately vanquished him, and threw him into captivity again. Subsequently he marched against the Gūrjara king, who fled away at his approach. Thence he proceeded to Mālvā, the king of which country knowing himself to be unable to resist his power surrendered to him. After receiving his obeisance he directed his march to the Vindhya. When Mārāśarva, the ruler of the adjoining country, who had been watching his movements, heard from his spies that Govinda's army had encamped on the slopes of that mountain, he went up to him, and throwing himself at his feet presented to him his most highly valued heirlooms which no other prince had ever got before. On this occasion Govinda spent the rainy season at a place called Śribhavana, which has not been identified. When the rains were over, he marched with his army to the Tungabhadrā, where he stayed for a short time, and brought the Pallava king of Kāñcī under a more complete subjection than before. Thence he sent a message to the king of Vengr, or the country between the lower Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī, who probably belonged to the eastern Chālukya dynasty, and he came and attended on him as if he were his servant.²⁴ This grand victorious march to the north and the south must have taken place before Saka 726 or A.D.

²⁴ Vapi-Dindori and Rādhanpur plates

§ 4 For in a copper-plate grant bearing that date found in the Kānarese country, it is stated that when the king (Govinda III) "having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kāñchi, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the banks of the Tungabhadrā," he allotted some lands to one Śivadhiṣṭa at a holy place named Rāmeśvara.²⁵ His expeditions against the neighbouring princes must have been undertaken after [67] Saka 716 past, or 794 A.D., since the Pañhan charter which was issued in that year makes no mention of them

Govinda III thus acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings He appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Mālvā in the north to Kāñchipura in the south, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmadā and the Tungabhadrā The Vani-Dindori plates convey a village situated in the Nāsik district, while those found in the Kānarese country assign some land near the Tungabhadrā The province of Lāṭa, situated between the Mahi and the lower Tīpi, was assigned by him to his brother Indra,²⁶ who became the founder of another branch of the dynasty Govinda III, as stated in the Baroda grant, made and unmade kings His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhūtavarsha or "Raining profusely," Pṛithvīvallabha or "the Lover of the Earth," and Śrī-Vallabha Others will be noticed below The Baroda grant was issued by Karka, the son of

²⁵ Ind Ant, Vol XI, pp 126-7

²⁶ Kāvī plate, Ind Ant, Vol V, p 147, v 29, Baroda grant, Jour Beng A S, Vol VIII, p 296, v 21, in which सदा ought to be सहस्र as in the Kāvī

it was he who founded it and made it the capital of the dynasty cannot be clearly made out from that grant, as the reading given by Mr Wathen is corrupt. But the Wardhâ plates are clear on the point. In them the successor of Jagattunga is called Nṛipatunga, and he is represented to have founded the city of Mânyakheṭa, which "put the [68] city of the gods" to shame. Mânyakheṭa has been properly identified with Mâlkhed in the Nizam's territory. In the Kâñheri caves there are three inscriptions, in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amoghavarsha. In one of them Pullasakti of the Śilâhâra family, and in the other two his son, Kapardin, are mentioned as his dependents ruling over Konkan, which province had been assigned to them by Amoghavarsha. The dates occurring in the last two are Śaka 775 and 799.²⁹ An inscription at Sirur in the Dhârvâd district published by Dr Fleet is dated Śaka 788, *vyaya*, which is represented as the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarsha,³⁰ so that the year 799 Śaka of the Kâñheri inscription must have been the sixty-third of his reign. The cyclic year *vyaya* corresponds to the Śaka year 788 *past* and 789 *current*. This prince appears thus to have begun to reign in Śaka 737 *past*. In a historical appendix at the end of a Jaina work entitled *Uttarapurâṇa*, or the latter

²⁹ Jour B B R A S, Vol VI, West's copies Nos 15 and 42, Vol XIII, p 11, and Prof Kielhorn's paper, Ind Ant, Vol XIII, p 133. The cyclic year given with 775 is *Prajâpati*, the current Śaka year corresponding to which, however, was 774. Prof Kielhorn has recently calculated the true Śaka from the day of the week and fortnight and found it to be 773 expired : c, 774 current.

³⁰ Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 216

Section XI half of the Mahâpurâna, by Gunabhadra, Amoghavarsha, is represented to have been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jaina saint named Jinasena, who was the preceptor of Gunabhadra, and wrote the Âdipurâna or the first part of the same work³¹ Jinasena himself at the end of his poem the Pârvâbhîyudaya gives expression to a wish that Amoghavarsha may reign for a long time An important work on the philosophy of the Digambara Jinas entitled Jayadhaivalâ is represented at the end to have been composed when 759 years of the Saka king had elapsed, in the reign of Amoghavarsha In the introductory portion of a Jaina mathematical work entitled Sârasamgraha by Virâchârya, Amoghavarsha is highly praised for his power and his virtues, and is spoken of as a follower of the Jaina doctrine (Syâdvâda)³² He is mentioned there also by his other name Nripatunga The authorship of a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled Praśnottara-ratnamâlikâ, which has

³¹ Several copies of this Purâna have been purchased by me for Government The stanza in which Amoghavarsha is alluded to is this —

यस्य प्राणघृताम् गुलालविसरक्षारान्तराधिभूष-
त्पादाम्बोजरज पिश्चामुकुटप्रस्त्रयरवग्नुसि ।
संचर्ता समसीघवर्पवृपति पृतोहमदेव्यलं
संश्रीमाङ्गिनसेनपूज्यभगवत्यादी जगमङ्गलम् ॥

"The King Amoghavarsha remembered himself to have been purified that day when the lustre of the gems was heightened in consequence of his diadem becoming reddish by the dust pollen of [Jinasena's] foot-lotuses appearing in the stream [of waterlike lustre] flowing from the collection of the brilliant rays of his nails,—enough—that prosperous Jinasena with the worshipful and revered feet is the blessing of the world"

³² This and the two preceding references I owe to the kindness of Mr K B Pathak

been claimed for Śaṅkarāchārya and one Śaṅkara-guru by the Brāhmaṇas, and for Vimala by the Śvetāmbaras, is attributed [69] to king Amoghavarsha by the Digambara Jainas. At the end of the Digambara copies occurs a stanza, in which it is stated that Amoghavarsha composed the Ratnamālikā after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit³³ in him. There is another Amoghavarsha in the dynasty who is represented as being of a thoughtful and religious temper. But he reigned for a short time and does not appear to have had any connection with the Jainas. There is a translation of the work in the Tibetan language, and there, too, the tract is attributed to Amoghavarsha, who is represented as a great king. The Tibetan translation of the name has been retranslated, however, into Amoghodaya by Schiefner, but if he had known the Digambara tradition, he would have put it as Amoghavarsha.³⁴ From all this it appears that of all the Rāshtrakūṭa princes, Amoghavarsha was the greatest patron of the Digambara Jainas, and the statement that he adopted the Jaina faith seems to be true.

Amoghavarsha's son and successor was Akāla- Kṛishṇa II
varsha. He married the daughter of Kokkala, king ^{or Akāla-}
of Chedi, who belonged to the Haihava race, and
by her had a son named Jagattuṅga. Akālavarsha's proper name was Kṛishṇa as is evident from the Navasārī grant and also from the Wardhā and the Kardā plates. He is the Kṛishṇarājā during whose

³³ See my Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS for 1883-84 Notes, &c, p 11. The stanza is

विवेकात्म्यकरालेन राजेयं रवमालिका ।
रचितामीघवर्षेण सुषियां सदर्शकता ॥

³⁴ Weber's Indische Streifen, Vol I p 210

Section XI reign a tributary chief of the name of Prithvirâma made a grant of land to a Jaina temple which he had caused to be constructed in the Saka year 797 at Saundatti ³⁵ Another Jaina temple was built by a Vaisya or Bania named Chikârya during his reign in Saka 824 at Mulgunda in the Dhârvâd district, and in the inscription which records this fact he is styled Krishna Vallabha ³⁶ Krishna or Akâlavarsa appears to have been a powerful prince He is represented as having frightened the Gûrjara, humbled the pride of the Lâta, taught humility to the Gaudas, deprived the people on the sea-coast of their repose, and exacted obedience from the Andhra, Kalinga, Gânga, and Magadha.³⁷

In the reign of this prince the Jaina Purâna noticed above was consecrated in Saka 820, the cyclic year being Pingala,³⁸ by Lokasena [70] the

³⁵ Jour B B R A S, Vol X, p 200 The cyclic year mentioned is Manmatha, which corresponds to Saka 797 past

³⁶ Ib, p 192 The cyclic year is Dundubhi, which fell in 825 current

³⁷ Wardhâ and Navasâri plates Jour B B R A S, Vol XVIII, pp 239-269

³⁸ अकालवर्षमूपाने पालयत्विलामिलाम् ।
तच्चिन्दिष्वसनि शेषहिषि विषयशोषुषि ॥

घर्षं ८ ।

* * * * *

शकनृपकालाभ्यन्तरविशत्यधिकादशतमिताष्टामे ।
सकालमहार्थकारिष्यि पिङ्गलनामनि समस्तजनसुखदे

* * * * *

मिष्टितं भव्यवद्ये

प्राप्तेज्यं शास्त्रसारं अगति दिजयते पुण्यमेसापुराणम् ॥

"Victorious in the world is this holy Purâna, the essence of the Sâstras which was finished and worshipped by the best among respectable [men]* * * in the year Pingala that brings about great prosperity and confers happiness on

pupil of Gunabhadra, who was the author of the second part In the historical appendix, "the lofty elephants of Akâlavarsha" are represented "to have drunk the waters of the Ganges rendered fragrant by being mixed with the humour flowing from their temples, and, as if not having their thirst quenched, to have resorted to the Kâumâra forest (in the extreme south), which was full of sandal trees set in gentle motion by the breezes blowing over the sea waves, and into the shade of which the rays of the sun did not penetrate "³⁹ The date 833 Saka has also been assigned to Akâlavarsha ⁴⁰ It will have been seen that an inscription at Saundatti represents Krishnarâja to have been the reigning prince in Saka 797, while one in the Kânherî caves speaks of his father Amoghavarsha as being on the throne two years later, i.e., in 799 This discrepancy must be due to the fact mentioned in the Ratnamâlikâ that the latter had abdicated the throne in his old age The real reigning prince therefore in Saka 797 and 799 must have been Akâlavarsha his son, but the writer of the Kânherî inscription must in the latter year have put in Amoghavarsha's name, as he was not dead, and his having abdicated had probably no significance in his eyes

Akâlavarsha's son was Jagattunga But he did Jagattunga

all mankind, at the end of the year measured by 820 of the era of the Saka king * * *, while that King Akâlavarsha, all of whose enemies were destroyed and whose fame was pure (or who acquired religious merit and fame) was protecting the whole earth "

The cyclic year Pingala corresponded to 820 Saka *current*

³⁹ यस्योच्चुङ्गमतंगदा मिजमद्वीतस्तिनीसंगमा-

झाङ्ग वारि कलद्वितं कटु सुह पीलोप्यगच्छत्पृथ् ।

कीमार घनस्वन्दम वनमपाप्युक्त्वगमिले-

मन्दान्दीलितमस्तमाकरकरक्कार्यं समाप्तिश्रियम् ॥

⁴⁰ Ind Ant, Vol XI p 109

Section XI not ascend the throne as appears from the fact that his name is not mentioned in the list of kings given in the Khârepâtañ grant, after Akâlavarsha, but that of Indra, who is spoken of as Akâlavarsha's grandson, while Jagattunga is mentioned in another connection below. And in the Navasârî grant Indra is represented as "meditating on the feet" of Akâlavarsha, and not of Jagattunga though he was his father, which shows that he was the immediate successor of Akâlavarsha. But the Wardhâ grant is explicit. It tells us that Jagattunga had a beautiful person, and that he died without having [71] ascended the throne. Jagattunga married Lakshmi, the daughter of his maternal uncle, the son of Kokkala, who is called Rañavigraha in the Sângali and Navasârî grants, and Samkaragaña in the Karâ plates. But it will be presently shown that the Karâ plates contain many mistakes and are the source of a good deal of confusion in the history of this dynasty. From this union sprang Indra, who succeeded his grandfather. His title was Nityavarsha according to the Navasârî grant, and his son Govinda IV is in the Sângali grant spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of Nityavarsha, which also shows that that was Indra's title. Nityavarsha is the donor in the Navasârî grant. He is represented as residing at his capital Mânyakhetâ, but to have on the occasion gone to Kurundaka, identified with the modern Kañoda on the banks of the Tâpi, for his Pañtabandhotsava. This must have been the festival in honour of his coronation. At Kurundaka he granted that and many other villages, and restored four hundred more which had once been given in charity but had been resumed by former kings. He also gave away twenty lacs of Drammas in charity.

Indra III

after having weighed himself against gold. The village conveyed by the Navasârî grant is Tenna situated in the Lât country. It has been identified with Tenâ in the Navasârî division of the Baroda State. The grant was issued in Saka 836, so that Indra appears to have come to the throne in that year. Another set of copper-plates found in the Navasârî district records the grant of the village of Gumra identified with the modern Bagumra by the same prince. The grant was issued at the same time as the other, and the contents *mutatis mutandis* are exactly the same.⁴¹ From these grants of villages in the Navasârî district which must have formed a part of the old country of Lât, and from the statement in the Wardhâ plates that Kṛishna or Akâlavarsha humbled the pride of the Lât prince, it appears that the main branch of the Râshtrakûṭas reigning at Mânyakheṭa must have in Akâlavarsha's time supplanted or reduced to a humble position the dynasty of their kinsmen in Gujarât, which had been founded in the time of Jagattunga or Govinda III. Indra was the reigning monarch in Saka 838, the cyclic year being *Dhâtu*, as appears from an inscription published by Dr Fleet.⁴²

As regards the next king there is some confusion in the Karḍâ plates. The Sângalî grant, however, is clear. Indra married a lady from the Haihaya family of Chedi again. Her name was Vijâmbâ,⁴³ and she was the daughter of Angaṇadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the eldest son of Kokkala, men-

⁴¹ Jour B B R A S, Vol XVIII, p 261 *et seq*

⁴² Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 224

⁴³ Dr Fleet in his revised transcript and translation of the Sângali grant calls her Dvijâmbâ, but in the facsimile given by him the name is distinctly Vijâmbâ in both the places where it occurs. The Sanskrit of Vijâmbâ is Vidyâmbâ. Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 250

Section M tioned above. By her Indra had a son named Govinda, who is the last king noticed in the Singali grant, since it was issued by him. But according to the Khutepa¹ grant, Govinda was the younger brother of a prince named [72] Amoghavarsha.² The immediate successor of Indra, therefore, was Amoghavarsha, and after him his younger brother Govinda came to the throne. And this is confirmed by the Kard³ plates also. Amoghavarsha and Govinda are there meant to be mentioned as the two sons of Amba, who is the same as the Vijamb⁴ of the Sineh plate. But in the text of the grant Govinda and Amba form one compound, so that the translators of the grant call the Indra Govindamb⁵, which certainly is an unique or an absurd name. Thus they drop the Govinda altogether.⁶ But the

¹ Dr. Fleet in his alphabetical table at p. 100, Vol. XI, Ind. Ant., speaks of Govinda's brother as unnamed. But he is named Amoghavarsha in the Khutepa¹ grant, and also in that of Kard³, if properly understood.

² The 13th tura, the latter part of which Fleet translates as in the text, is

सिंह खुतेपा विजाम्बा गोविन्दा अमोघवर्षा इति ।

Wardhā grant is explicit on the point. From it we learn that Amoghavarsha was the elder brother of Govinda, but that he died immediately after his father, as if "out of love for him," and then Govinda came to the throne. The Sāngali grant of Govinda IV, as he must be called, does not mention Amoghavarsha by name, but states that "though Govinda had the power, he did not act with any reprehensible cruelty towards his elder brother, and did not render himself infamous by incest, or assume the nature of a devil by casting aside considerations of purity and impurity, but became Sāhasānka by his matchless enterprise and liberality." What this

of his sons Amoghavarsha and Govinda IV, the latter of whom reigned, as we shall see for at least fifteen years. Such an omission is not likely. Then, again, the Sangali grant makes no allusion whatever to Jagattunga's marriage with a lady of the name of Govindāmba. And the second line श्रीमान्मीष्वप्ते गोविन्दावामिधानायाम्! looks as if the intention of the writer of it was set forth the names of the two sons of Indra, Amoghavarsha and Govinda, and of their mother Ambā or Vijambā. And it seems to me that the following stanza, in which the liberality of a monarch has been praised, refers to Govinda IV, who as noticed in the text below, was called Suvarnavarsha by people, because he "rained down gold." The name of that prince, therefore, must occur in the verse immediately previous. The first line must, it is clear to me, have crept in through mistake. If it were not read here, the second would be applicable to the king mentioned immediately before, i.e., Indra, and the whole would be consistent with the information derived from the Sāngali grant. The emendation I make in the second line is to read न्ते for न्ति and then Ambā would be released from her incongruous association with Govinda, and the whole would be consistent and intelligible. There must be other mistakes also in the Kardā grant. Very probably a verse or two are omitted here as also after the next stanza, where Krishnaraja is abruptly introduced and spoken of parenthetically.

Section XI

Govinda IV

it must be understood that the year meant is 841 Section XI Saka. It will appear from this that Indrā or Nityavarsha, who succeeded his grandfather in Saka 836, had a very short reign, and his eldest son, Amoghavarsha, could have been on the throne only for a few months. Govinda IV like Amoghavarsha I was at war with the Châlukyas of Vengi.⁴⁸ Another inscription represents Govinda IV as the reigning monarch in Saka 851.⁴⁹

From the Khârepâtan plates it appears that Baddiga or Govinda IV was succeeded by his paternal uncle Amoghavarsha III Baddiga, the second son of Jagattunga. He is represented to have been a virtuous prince, serene like a sage. He was succeeded by his son Kṛishṇarâja, and after his death his younger brother Khoṭika became king. The Kardâ grant is somewhat confusing here, but when properly understood it is perfectly consistent with that of Khârepâtan. It states "When the elder brother Kṛishnarâjadeva went to heaven, Khoṭṭigadeva, who was begotten by the king Amoghavarsha on Kandakadevî, the daughter of Yuvarâja, became king."⁵⁰ Here the expression "elder brother" must be taken as related to Khoṭṭigadeva and not to the preceding king,⁵¹ whoever he may have been. Khoṭika therefore was, even [74] according to the Kardâ grant, the younger brother

⁴⁸ Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 249, and my note on Professor Peterson's Report on MSS for 1883-84, p 48

⁴⁹ Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 249

⁵⁰ एन्द्रपद्मिगीपयेव सर्वमधिष्ठाते च ये हे भातरि श्रीमरक्षराजदेवे
युवराजदेवदुहिसरि कन्दकदेव्यामसोघवर्णन्तपा-
ज्ञात खोट्टिगदेवो शृपतिरभूदुषनविष्वात ॥ १६ ॥

⁵¹ For, the clause containing that expression is dependent on the principal sentence, which is in the next or 16th Kânta and the subject of which is Khoṭṭigadeva. See the passage in the last note

Section XI of Kṛishnarāja But he is represented to have been the son of Amoghavarsha, while Kṛishnarāja is spoken of in the Khārepāṭan plates as the son of Baddiga In an inscription at Saloṭgi, Kṛishnarāja, the son of Amoghavarsha, is represented to have been reigning at Mānyakheṭa in 867 Śaka,⁵² that is, twelve years after the Sāngalī grant of Govinda IV was issued He must have been the same prince as that mentioned in the grants we have been examining For the Kṛishna of these was the second king after Govinda IV His father Baddiga, who was Govinda's uncle, must have been an old man when he succeeded, and consequently must have reigned for a very short time Hence his son Kṛishṇa came to be king within twelve years after Govinda's grant, and there is no other Kṛishṇa mentioned in the grants who is likely to have been on the throne in 867 Śaka If, then, the Kṛishna of the grants is the same as the Kṛishna of the Saloṭgi inscription, here we have evidence that his father's name was Amoghavarsha, so that the Baddiga of the Khārepāṭan plates was the same as the Amoghavarsha of the Kardā plates Kṛishṇarāja and Khoṭka were thus brothers, and it would appear from the wording of the statement in the Kardā plates that they were the sons of the same father but of different mothers⁵³

⁵² Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 205, *et seq.* The cyclic year given is Plavanga, which followed next after Śaka 869 and the current year corresponding to which was 870 According to another system, which however was rarely used in Southern India, it was Plavanga in a part of the year 867 Śaka *expired*

⁵³ Dr. Fleet, following Mr. Wathen's translation, makes Kṛishna, whom he calls Kṛishna III, the elder brother of Amoghavarsha and thus a son of Jagattunga But in the Khārepāṭan grant he is distinctly represented as the son of Baddiga who was the son of Jagattunga, and in the

Section XI

was [75] "first among the wise" and the "best of serene sages", to assume the reins of power. He was assisted in the government by his son Krishna, who though but a crown-prince wielded very great power. The enemies who transgressed his commands were punished, he put to death Dantiga and Bappuka who had grown insolent. He thoroughly subdued the Ganga prince, and planted what appears to be a colony of the Aryas in his dominions. Hearing of the ease with which he captured the strongholds in the south, the Gurjara prince, who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kalanjara and Chitrakuta in the

on the throne from 867 to 878 Saka, that is, before his elder brother Krishna, therefore, was the elder of the two as stated in the Kharepata grant, and Khotika the younger. Dr Fleet, however, being under the belief that this last was the elder brother, gives the following explanation of the discrepancy in the dates—"Kotiga or Khotiga left no issue, and this explains why the date of his inscription now published is considerably later than the dates obtained for Krishna IV, viz., there being no probability of Kotiga leaving any issue, first his younger brother Krishna IV was joined with him in the government and then the latter's son Kalka III"—(Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 255) This supposition is not supported by any circumstance, on the contrary it is utterly discredited by the inscriptions of Krishna which represent him to be the "Supreme King of great kings," (Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 258) and to have been reigning at the time at Manya Khetra and governing the kingdom (Ind Ant, Vol I, p 210) Otherwise, they would have spoken of him as Yuvaraja. Thus there were not two Krishnas but only one. He was the son of Baddiga or Amoghavarsha, not his brother. His earliest date is that of the Wardhâ grant, i.e., 862 Saka and the latest 881 that of the Yasastilaka. He was the same monarch as that spoken of in the Salotgi and other stone inscriptions bearing the dates 867, 873, and 878 Saka. Khotiga was his younger brother, and Nirupama the youngest

north, had to give up the enterprize All feudatory chiefs between the eastern and the western oceans and between the Himâlava and Simhala (Ceylon) paid obeisance to him After he had thus rendered the power of his family firm, his father died, and he ascended the throne The Wardhâ plates announce the grant of a village to the north-west of Nâgpur near the modern Mohagaon made by Kriśhnarâja, who is also called Akâlavârsha, in the name of his brother Jagattunga to a Brâhman of the Kârva school of the White Yajurveda on the 5th of the dark half of Vaisâkha in Saka 862, corresponding to 940 A.D., the cyclic year being Sârvâri This prince is called Sri-Vallabha also in the grant

Kriśhnarâja was the reigning monarch in Saka 873 and 878⁵⁴ At the end of a Jaina work called Yasastilaka by Somadeva it is stated that it was finished on the 13th of Chaitra when 881 years of the era of the Saka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Siddhârthin, during the reign of a feudatory of Kriśhnarâjadeva Kriśhnarâjadeva is spoken of as reigning gloriously, having subdued the Pândyas, Simhala, the Cholas, the Cheras and others⁵⁵ Khoṭika, his brother, was on the throne in Saka 893 Prajâpati⁵⁶

Khoṭika was succeeded, according to the Kakkala or Khârepâtan grant, by Kakkala, the son of his brother The name of this brother was Nirupama according to the Kardâ grant Kakkala is said to have been a brave soldier, but he was conquered in battle by Tailapa, who belonged to the Châlukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Dekkan passed

⁵⁴ Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 257, and Vol XI, p 109

⁵⁵ Prof Peterson's Report, *loc cit*

⁵⁶ Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 225

Section XI

Overthrow
of the
Râshtrakûṭas

from the hands of the Râshtrakûṭas once more [76] into those of the Châlukyas The Kardâ grant, which was made in the reign of Kakkala, is dated Saka 894 or A D 972 And another inscription represents him as being on the throne in 896 *current*,⁵⁷ the cyclic year being Śrimukha But in this year or Saka 895 *past* Tailapa attained sovereign powers⁵⁸ The Râshtrakûṭas were thus supreme masters of this country from about A D 748 to A D 973, that is, for nearly two hundred and twenty-five years

Religion
under the
Râshtrakûṭas

That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt The rock-cut temples at Elurâ still attest their power and magnificence Under them the worship of the Purânic gods rose into much greater importance than before The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by, never to return Instead of them we have during this period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of Śiva and Vishṇu Several of the grants of these Râshtrakûṭa princes praise their bounty and mention their having constructed temples Still, as the Kânherî inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarsha I show, Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Châlukya period, or even made greater progress Amoghavarsha was, as we have seen, a great patron of it, and was perhaps a convert to it, and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes,

⁵⁷ Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 270

⁵⁸ The cyclic year mentioned along with the first of these two dates in Angiras the current Śaka year corresponding to which was 895

especially the traders, were its devoted adherents. The form of Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sect. A good many of the extant Digambara works were, as we have seen, composed during this period.

It is remarkable that, unlike the grants of the early Châlukya princes, those of the Râshtrakûṭas contain accounts in verse of the ancestors of the grantor, and most of the verses are of the nature of those we find in the ordinary artificial poems in Sânskrît literature, possessing the same merits and faults. The Râshtrakûṭas, therefore, must have been patrons of learning, and probably had poets in their service. One of the three Krishnas belonging to the ^{Krishna of the Râshtrakûṭa race, the hero of} dynasty is the hero of an artificial poem by Halâyudha entitled the *Kavirâhasya*, the purpose of which is to explain the distinction as regards sense and conjugational peculiarities between roots having the same external form. He is spoken of as the paramount sovereign of Dakshinâpatha.⁵⁹ Prof. Westergaard, however, thought [77] him to be the Krishnarâva of the Vijayanagar dynasty who reigned in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. But in the *Kavirâhasya* he is spoken of in one place as "having sprung from the Râshtrakûṭa race,"⁶⁰ and is in another called "the ornament of the lunar

59 अस्यगम्यमुनिज्ञोरक्षापयिवे दक्षिणापदे ।

हृष्णराज इसि ग्यातो राजा सामृद्धदोक्षित ॥

'In Dakshinâpatha, which is rendered holy by the light of the sage Agastya, there was a king of the name of Krishnarâva who was crowned as a paramount sovereign.'

60 तोल्यत्यतुर्लं शक्ता यो भार भुवनेश्वर ।

कस्तु तुलयति स्याद्या राङ्गूटकुलोद्धवम् ॥

"Who will equal in strength that lord of the world sprung from the Râshtrakûṭa race, who by his power bears an incomparable burden?"

Section XI

race,"⁶¹ which description is of course not applicable to the Vijayanagar prince

Balharâs
identified
with the
Râshîrakûtas

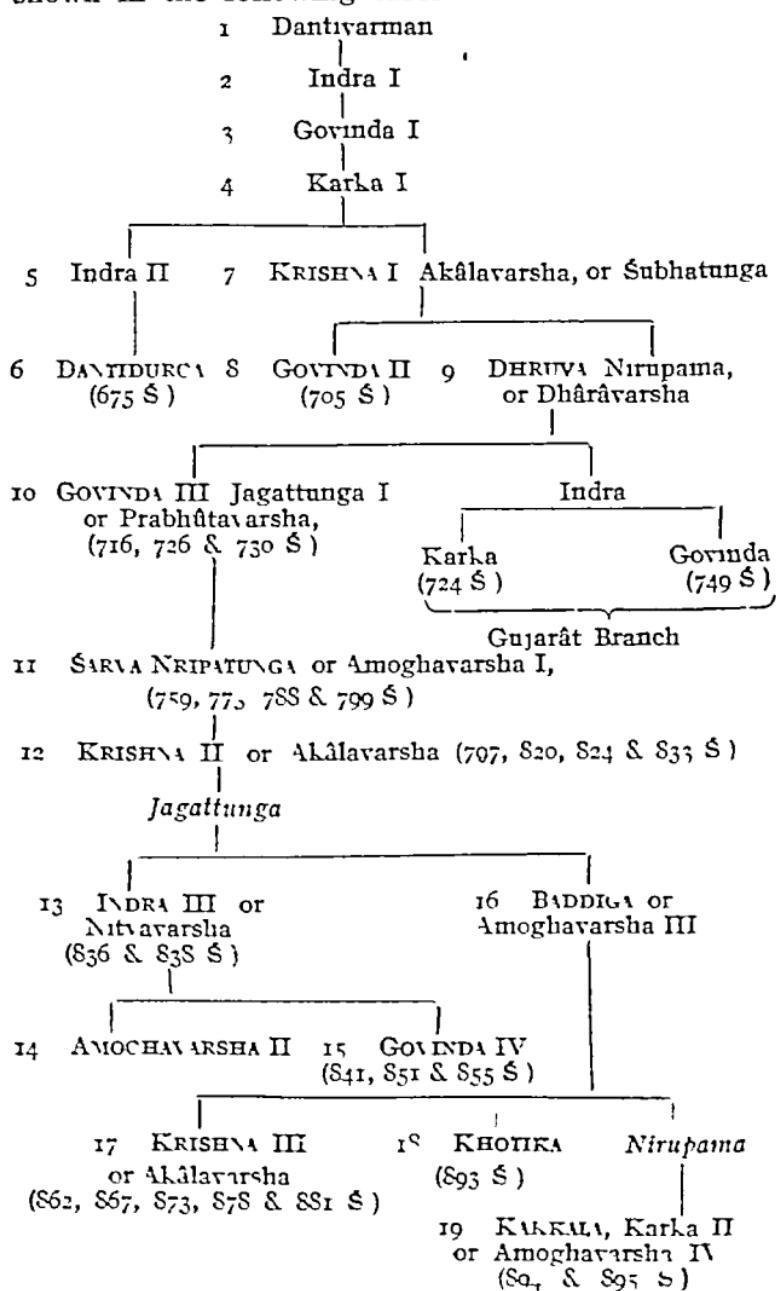
Arabic travellers of the tenth century mention a powerful dynasty of the name of Balharâs who ruled at a place called Mânikir. The name of the city would show that the Râshîrakûtas, whose capital was Mânyakheṭa or Mânkhed, were meant. But Balharâ, the name of the dynasty, has not been identified with any that might be considered to be applicable to the Râshîrakûtas. But to me the identification does not appear difficult. The Râshîrakûtas appear clearly to have assumed the title of *Vallabha* which was used by their predecessors the Châlukyas. We have seen that Govinda II is called *Vallabha* in two grants, Amoghavarsha I in a third, and Krishna III in a fourth. In an inscription on a stone tablet at Lakshimesvar, Govinda III is called *Sri-Vallabha*,⁶² while in the Râdhanpur plates he is spoken of as *Vallabha-narendra*. In the Sângali and Karâ grants also the reigning king is styled *Vallabha-narendra*, while in other inscriptions we find the title *Prithivîvallabha* alone used. Now *Vallabha-narendra* means "the king *Vallabha*," and is the same as *Vallabharâja*, the words *râja* (*n*) and *narendra* both denoting "a king." *Vallabha-râja* should by the rules of Prâkrit or vernacular pronunciation, become *Vallaha-rây*, *Ballaha-rây*, or *Balha-râj*. This last is the same as the *Balharâ* of the Arabs.

61 सोम सुमीति गन्ते पूर्ण सोमवर्गिमयम्

"That ornament of the lunar race extracts the juice of Soma in sacrifice."

⁶² Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 156

[78] The genealogy of the Râshtrakûṭas is shown in the following table — Section XI



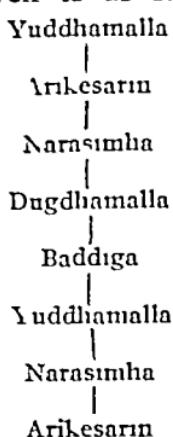
(a) The names of those who were supreme sovereign in the Dekkan are printed in capitals.

(b) The names of those who were kings before the attainment of supreme power are printed in small letters.

(c) The order of succession is represented by the numbers.

(d) The names of those who did not ascend the throne at all have been printed in Italic.

places six princes only between Kirtivarman II and Section XII Tūlīpi. There is little question that there was no continuity of tradition. The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c., which the later Chālukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them. In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 735 found in Maisur a Chālukya prince of the name of Vimalādītva, the son of Yasovarman and grandson of Balavarman, is mentioned. To ward off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalādītva, a village was granted to a Jaina sage on behalf of a Jaina temple by Govinda III, the Rishtrakūṭa king, at the request of Chākiraṇa of the Gangī family, the maternal uncle of Vimalādītva.² These three Chālukya names do not occur in the usual genealogy of the family. This therefore appears to have been an independent branch. Another independent offshoot ruled over a province called Jola, a portion of which at least is included in the modern district of Dhīravāḍ. In the Kīnarese Bhārati [80] written in Śaka by a Jaina poet of the name of Pampa, Arikesarin belonging to this branch, is mentioned by the poet as his patron. The genealogy there given is as follows —



² Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 11

Section XII

Châlukya
prince
mentioned
in a
Vedântic
work.

At the end of a work entitled *Samkshepasârîraka*, the author *Sarvajñâtmân*, the pupil of *Sureśvara*, who himself was a pupil of the great *Śamkarâchârya*, states that he composed it while "the prosperous king of the Kshatriya race, the *Āditya* (sun) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth "³ This description would apply with propriety to such a king as *Ādityavarman*, *Vikramâditya I*, *Vinayâditya*, *Vijayâditya*, or *Vikramâditya II* of the early Châlukya dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were "Ādityas of the race of Manu" For the Mânavya race to which they belonged may be understood as "the race of Manu" But *Śamkarâchârya* is said to have lived between Saka 710 and 742, wherefore his grand-pupil must have flourished about the year 800 of that era, while *Vikramâditya II*, the latest of the four, ceased to reign in 669 Saka Supposing then that the date assigned to *Śamkarâchârya* is correct, the king meant by *Sarvajñâtmân* must be one of those placed by the *Miraj* grant between *Kirtivarman II* and *Tailapa* He may be *Vikramâditya*, the third prince after *Kirtivarman II*,⁴ but if the description is considered hardly applicable to a minor chief, *Śamkarâchârya*'s date must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the five princes of the early Châlukya dynasty mentioned above

३ श्रीटेवेश्वरपादपद्मजरल सपर्क्षूताश्रय
सर्वज्ञात्मगिराद्विती सुनिवर मचेपश्चारौरक्षम् ।
चक्रे सच्चमधुहिवर्धनमिद राजन्यष्ट्ये मृपे
श्रीमत्यच्छत्प्राप्तने सतुकुलादित्ये भव शासति ॥

The *Devaśara* spoken of in the first line is *Sureśvara*, the pupil of *Śamkarâchârya*

⁴ See the genealogy at the end of this Section

Tailapī seems to have carried his arms into the Section XII country of the Cholas⁵ and humbled the king of Chedi⁶ He despatched an expedition into Gujarāt, ^{Ta lapa s} expeditions under a general of the name of Bārapa, against Mālārijī, the founder of the Chālukya dynasty of Anhilapattanī, [81] who for some time was hard pressed, but according to the Gujarāt chroniclers the general was eventually defeated with slaughter⁷ Somesvīra, the author of the Kirtikāumudi, speaks of Bīrapī as the general of the lord of Lāṭa, from which it would appear that Tailapī was in possession of that country⁸ Tailapa invaded Mālā also, which at this time was governed by Muñja the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja Muñja, instead of strictly confining himself to the defensive, took the offensive, and, against the counsels of his aged minister Rudrīditya, crossed the Godāvari with a large army He was encountered by Tailapī, who inflicted a crushing defeat on him and took him prisoner At first Muñja was treated with consideration by his captor, but in attempt to effect his escape having been detected, he was subjected to indignities, made to beg from door to door, and finally beheaded⁹ This event is alluded to in one of Tailapa's inscriptions¹⁰ Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years¹¹ One of his feudatory chiefs granted a piece of land to a Jaina temple that he had constructed at

⁵ Ind Ant, Vol V, p 17

⁶ Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 15

⁷ Rāsa Mālā, Chap IV, p 38, new Ed

⁸ Kirtikāumudi II 3

⁹ Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha and Bhojacharitra by Rājavallabha

¹⁰ Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 12, and Ind Ant, Vol XXI, p 168

¹¹ Jour R S Vol IV, p 4

Section XII Saundatti¹² in the Belgaum district, in the year 902 Saka or A D 980

Satvāśrava Tailapa married Jākabbā, the daughter of the last Rāshṭrakūṭa king, and had by her two sons, whose names were Satyāśraya and Daśavarman¹³ The former succeeded him in 919 Saka or A D 997 Nothing particular is mentioned of him in any of the inscriptions The Khārepāṭaṇ grant, which we have so often referred to, was issued in his reign in Saka 930 by a dependent chief of the Śilāhāra family which ruled over southern Konkan¹⁴

Vikramāditva I Satyāśraya died without issue and was succeeded by Vikramāditya I¹⁵ the son of his younger brother Dasavarman by his wife Bhagavatī The earliest of his inscriptions is dated Saka 930, which is also the latest date of his predecessor He therefore succeeded to the throne in that year, i.e., in 1008 A D, and appears to have reigned for only a short time¹⁶ He was succeeded by his brother Jayasimha or Jagadekamalla, who in an inscription dated 941 Saka, i.e., 1019 A D, is represented to have put to flight or broken the confederacy of Mālava and is styled "the moon of the lotus which was King Bhoja," that is, one who humbled him¹⁷ He is also spoken of as having beaten the Cholas and the Cheras The Miraj grant was executed by him five years later, i.e., in Saka 946, when "after having subdued the

¹² Jour B B R A S, Vol X, p 210

¹³ Miraj plates, Jour R A S, Vol III, p 262, st 30-35, Ind Ant, Vol VIII, pp 15-17

¹⁴ Jour B B R A S, Vol I, p 209

¹⁵ I call him Vikramāditya I and not Vikramāditva V, as others do, because I would keep the two dynasties distinct for the reasons given in the text above I shall call Vikramāditva Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramāditya II, and so on

¹⁶ Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 4

¹⁷ Ind Ant, Vol V, p 17

powerful Chola, the lord of the Drāmila country, and Section XII taken away every thing belonging to the ruler of the seven Konkans, he had encamped with his victorious army at [82] Kolhīpur in the course of a march to the northern countries to vanquish them "¹⁸ The latest date of this prince is Śaka 962 ¹⁹

Javāsimha ceased to reign in 962 Śaka, or 1040 A D, and was succeeded by his son Somesvara I, Āhavamalla or who assumed the titles of Āhavamalla and Traiokya-mallī. As usual with the Chālukya princes the first enemy he had to turn his arms against was the king of the Cholas ²⁰ He is then represented by Bihana to have marched against Dhārī, the capital of Bhoja, and captured it. Bhoja was compelled to abandon the city. These hostilities with the king of Mālvā seem to have been inherited by this king and his predecessor from Tailapa, who had caused Muñja to be put to death. Bhoja was but a boy when this event took place. It is narrated in the Bhojacharitra that after he had come of age and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom, on one occasion a dramatic play representing the fate of Muñja was acted before him, and thereupon he resolved to avenge his uncle's death. He invaded the Dekkan with a large army, captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected by

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.* Drāmila is another form of Dravida. There is some mistake here in the original. The letters are अ-चद्रमिलाधिपति Dr. Fleet takes अ as one word and चद्रमिलाधि-पति as another, but अ cannot be construed and Chandramila is unknown. The first word must be अच, a mistake for some such word as न्द्रंच “down” “below,” and the second *Dramillādhipatim*.

¹⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 164

²⁰ Bihana's Vikramānka Charitra, I, 90, Jour. R. A. S. Vol. IV, p. 13

Section XII

him, and finally executed him ²¹ Bhoja, who ruled over Mâlvâ for about fifty-three years, was but a minor when Muñja died. Muñja was on the throne in 994 A D, ²² while Tailapa died or ceased to reign in 997 A D. He must therefore have been slain by the latter between 994 and 997 A D, and Tailapa did not survive Muñja for a sufficiently long time to allow of Bhoja's attaining majority and fighting with him. Hence Bhoja could not have wreaked vengeance on Tailapa. But the wars of Jayasimha and Somesvara I with him show that the tradition recorded in the *Bhojacharitra* must have been correct to this extent, that to avenge his uncle's death the king of Mâlvâ formed a confederacy with some neighbouring princes and attacked the dominions of the Châlukyas. Perhaps he captured Vikramâditya I, of whom we know so little, and put him to death. It was probably on that account that Jayasimha took arms against him and broke the confederacy, as represented in the inscription dated 941 Saka.

Attack
against
Dâhala
and the
southern
countries

After some time Somesvara attacked Chedi or Dâhala, the capital of which was Tevur or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karṇa ²³ King Bhoja must have died before this event, for, just about the time of his death, Karna had formed a confederacy with Bhîmadeva I of Gujarât with a view to attack Mâlvâ from two sides, and sacked Dhârâ after his death ²⁴ Bilhana next represents the Châlukya prince to have marched against the countries on the sea-coast, [83] probably the western. These he conquered, and

²¹ *Bhojacharitra*, I, 50-56

²² My Report on the search for MSS during 1882-83,

p. 45

²³ Bilhana's *Vikr*, I, 102-103

²⁴ Merutunga's *Bhojaprabandha*, *Râsa Mâlâ*, VI, p. 69.

having erected a triumphal column there, proceeded Section XII
by the sea-shore to the extremity of the peninsula.
In his progress through that part of the country the
king of the Dravidis or Cholas attacked him, but
was defeated. Somesvara thereupon proceeded to
his capital Kîñchi, which he captured, and the
Chola king had to flee ²⁵ to save his life.
Âhavamalla's operations against Bhoja and the
Cholas are alluded to in an inscription, and he is also
represented to have fought with the king of Kînyaka-
kulja or Kanoj and compelled him to betake himself
to the caverns of mountains for safety.²⁶

Âhavamalla or Somesvara founded the city of
Kâlîpa and made it his capital. Billaya mentions
the fact,²⁷ and the name of the city does not occur
in any inscription of a date earlier than 975 Saka,
when Somesvara was reigning.²⁸ In the course of
time three sons were born to Âhavamalla, the eldest Sons of
of whom was named Somesvara, the second Vikramâ-
ditva, and the third Jayasimha.²⁹ The ablest of
these was Vikramâditva, and Âhavamalla intended
to raise him to the dignity of *Yuvarâja* or prince-
regent in supersession of his elder brother, but

²⁵ *Vikr. Ch.*, I, 107 116

²⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 19

²⁷ Billaya's *Vikr. Ch.*, II, I. The natural construction
appears to be to take प्रति "most excellent" as an *attributive* adjective, not *predicate*, and take चकार as the predicate.
The sense then will be "He made (founded) the
most excellent city named Kâlîpa."

²⁸ See Dr. Fleet's remarks on the point, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol.
VIII, p. 105. The word *Kaljâna* occurring in the Salotgi inscription
(*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 210), is also, like that in Kirti-
varman's grant, to be taken in the sense of "good,"
"benefit," "beneficial," and not as the name of a town as
Mr. Pandit and Dr. Bühler have done.

²⁹ Billaya's *Vikr. Ch.*, II, 57 58 and 85, III, 1, 25

Section XII

Vikramāditya's military operations

Bilhana tells us he declined the honour ³⁰ Somesvara therefore was installed as prince-regent, but the real work was done by Vikramāditya, who was invariably employed by his father to fight his battles. The first thing he did was to march as usual against the Cholas, whose king was defeated and deprived of his kingdom. The king of Mâlvâ, who had been driven from his country by somebody whose name is not given, sought Vikramāditya's assistance. That prince put down his enemies and placed him on the throne ³¹. Vikramāditya is said to have invaded the Gauḍa country or Bengal and Kâmarûpa or Assam ³². In the more detailed description of his career of conquest, Bilhana tells us, he first marched against the Keralas, whom he conquered ³³. The king of Simhala submitted to him at his approach, ³⁴ then he took the city of Gangakunḍa and proceeded to the country of the Cholas, the prince of which fled and took refuge in the caverns of mountains. Vikramāditya then entered Kâñchi and plundered it, and thence directed his march to Vengi, and to Chakrakota ³⁵.

Āhavamalla's death

While Vikramāditya was so employed, Āhavamalla was seized with a strong fever. When he observed his end approaching, he caused himself to be taken to the banks of the Tungabhadri. He [84] bathed in the waters of the river and gave away a great deal of gold in charity. Then entering the river again, he proceeded until the water reached his neck, and, in the din caused by the waves and a number of musical instruments, drowned himself ³⁶.

³⁰ *Ib.*, III, 26-32, 35-41, and 48-51.

³¹ *Ib.*, III, 55-67

³² *Ib.* III, 7.

³³ *Ib.*, IV, 2, 18

³⁴ *Ib.*, IV, 20

³⁵ *Ib.*, IV, 21-30. For the situation of Vengi, see *infra*.

P 53

³⁶ Bilhana's *Vikr. Ch.*, IV, 463. This name of a river is known to, the name of *Jalasamâdi*!

Section XII

Submission
of Jayakesi
of Goa to
Vikram-
aditya

kesi is represented to have submitted to Vikramaditya and "given him more wealth than he desired, and thus to have rendered lasting the smile on the face of the Konkan ladies "⁴² Jayakesi appears thus to have been king of the Konkan, and was the same as the first king of that name, who in the copper-plate grants of the Goa Kadambas, published by Dr Fleet, is spoken of as having entered into an alliance with the Châlukya and Chola kings and made Gopakapattana or Goa his capital. Vikramaditya or Tribhuvanamalla in after-life gave his daughter Mallalamahâdevi in marriage to his grand son, who also was called Jayakesi, and this circumstance is mentioned in all the three grants, since the connection with the paramount sovereign of the Dekkan raised the dignity of the family ⁴³ The king of the Alupas⁴⁴ also rendered his obeisance to the Châlukya prince, who showed him marks of favour. He then subjugated the Keralas or people of Malabar, and turned towards the country of the Dravidas or Cholas. Being informed of this, the Chola prince sent a herald with proposals of peace, offering [85] his daughter in marriage to Vikramaditya. These were accepted by the latter, and at the solicitations of the Chola he fell back on the Tungabhadra, where the prince arrived with his daughter and concluded an alliance ⁴⁵

Alliance
with the
Chola
prince

Revolution
in the Chola
Kingdom

Some time after, the king of the Cholas died and there was a revolution in the kingdom. When the Châlukya prince heard of this he immediately proceeded to Kâñchi, and placing the son of his father-in-law on the throne, remained there for a month to

⁴² *IB*, V, 10, 18-25

⁴³ *Jour I P R A S*, Vol II, pp 22, 27, 27

→ See *sigra* p 83, note 13

⁴⁴ Billana's *Vikr Ch*, V 26-27 26, 55 60, 72 75,

suppress his enemies and render his position secure Section XII
 A short time after his return to the Tungabhadrâ, however, Râjiga, the king of Vengi, observing that the nobility of the Chola prince were disaffected, seized the opportunity, and, having deposed him, usurped the sovereignty of the country. To embarrass Vikramâditya and prevent his descent on Alliance between Râjiga and Somesvara II against Vikramâditya Kâñchi, Râjiga incited his brother Somesvara II to attack him from behind. Vikramâditya, however, marched on, and, by the time he came in sight of the Dravida forces, Somesvara overtook him in his rear. He had a very large army, which was well equipped ⁴⁶ Bilhana, who is, of course, anxious to show his patron to be guiltless in this fratricidal war, represents him to be deeply afflicted when he saw that his brother had made common cause with his enemy, and to have endeavoured to dissuade him from the course on which he had embarked. Somesvara made a show of yielding to his brother's expostulations, seeking however in the meanwhile for a favourable opportunity to strike a decisive blow ⁴⁷ But Vikramâditya finally resolved to give a fight to the armies of both. Then a bloody battle ensued, Vikramâditya proved Battle of Vikramâditya with his brother and Râjiga victorious, the new king of the Dravidas fled, and Somesvara was taken prisoner. The Châlukya prince then returned to the Tungabhadrâ, and after some hesitation dethroned Somesvara and had himself crowned king. To his younger brother Jayasînha he assigned the province of Banavâsi ⁴⁸ These events took place in the cyclic year *Nala*, Saka 998, or A D 1076 ⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Ib* VI, 7-54

⁴⁷ *Ib* VI, 56-61

⁴⁸ *Ib*, VI, 90-93, 98-99

⁴⁹ *Jour R A S*, Vol IV, p 4, *Ind Ant*, Vol VIII, p 189 The current Saka year was 999 Dr Fleet thinks

Section XII

Reign of
Vikramā-
ditya II

Vikramāditya II then entered Kalvānī and had a long and upon the whole a peaceful reign of fifty years⁵⁰ He assumed the title of Tribhuvanamalla, and is known by the names of Kalavikramī and Parmādīrāya also He abolished the Śīki era and established his own, but it fell into disuse not long after his death Some time after his accession, he went to Karahāṭaka or Karhāḍ and married the daughter of the Śilāhāra king who reigned at the place Her [86] name was Chandrālekha and she was a woman of rare beauty Bihāri represents her to have held a *stāyamara* where a great many kings assembled, out of whom she chose the Chālukya prince and placed the nuptial wreath round his neck Whether the *stāyamara* was real, or imagined by the poet to give himself an opportunity for the display of his poetic and descriptive powers, it is not possible to decide Chandralekha is spoken of in the inscriptions as Chandraladevi, and many other wives of Tribhuvanamalla are mentioned besides her The revenues of certain villages were assigned to them for their private expenses⁵¹

Section XII ditya, who, however, is represented to have pardoned him ⁵⁴

**Invasion of
Vikrama's
dominions
by Vishnu-
vardhana**

In the latter part of Vikrama's reign his dominions were invaded by a prince of the Hoysala branch of the Yâdava family reigning at Divrisamudra, the modern Haïebid in Maisur, and with him were associated the kings of the Pândya country, Goî, and Konkan. This Hoysala prince must have been Vishnuvardhana, the younger brother of Ballâja and the grandson of Vinayâditya, who first brought the dynasty into prominence. For in the inscription of Vira Ballâja, the grandson of Vishnuvardhana, at Gaddaka, Vishnuvardhana is represented to have overrun the whole country between his capital [87] and Belvoî and washed his horses with the waters of the Kâshna-Venâ. It is also stated that "he was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by the King Paramardideva (Vikramâditya), who said, 'Know the Hoysala alone among all princes to be unconquerable'" ⁵⁵. Vira mîditva despatched against these enemies a dependent chief of the name of Ächî or Ächagi, who c. territory by to the south Ächî, who was "a very lion in war and shining like the hot-rising sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed over Pôrsâja, took Gove, put to flight Lalshma in war, valorously followed after Pandyâ, dispersed it all times the Malapî, and seized upon the Koulam" ⁵⁶. Ächî must have fought several other battles for his

⁵⁴ *Ib.*, XV, 23, 11-12, 73-74, 8, 27.

⁵⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol II, p 200. Dr Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The word, are to be thus collated:—*संदृष्ट असामया दीप्यमलम् दामादम् इति परमितिर्याप्त अद्याद्या न निष्पृष्टं सप्त शास्त्रं ॥*

⁵⁶ *Jour. P. B. P. A. S.*, Vol I, p 23, 16, 112. "Hoysala are in and the same word

master, for he is represented to have made "the kings of Kalinga, Vanga, Maru, Gurjara, Mâjava, Chera, and Chola (subject) to his sovereign"⁵⁷ Vikramâditya himself had to take the field against the Chola prince, who had grown insubordinate. He was defeated and fled, and the king returned to his capital⁵⁸ Vikramâditya II constructed a large temple of Vishnu and had a tank dug in front of it. In the vicinity he founded a town which was called Vikramapura⁵⁹ He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that, according to Bilhana, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings." He was very liberal and bountiful to the poor and "gave the sixteen great gifts at each holy conjuncture"⁶⁰ That he was a patron of learning is shown by the fact of a Kâsmirian Pandit like Bilhana, who travelled over the whole of India in quest of support, having been raised by him to the dignity of Vidyâpati or chief Pandit Vijñânesvara, the author of the Mîtâksharâ, which is at present acknowledged over a large part of India, and especially in the Marâthâ country, as the chief authority on matters of civil and religious law, flourished in the reign of Vikramâditya and lived at Kalvâna. At the end of most manuscripts of that work there occur three stanzas, which may be translated as follows⁶¹

Vikram-
âditya's
patronage
of learning

Vijñânes-
vara

⁵⁷ *Ib*, p 269

⁵⁸ Bilhana's *Vikr Ch*, XVII, 43-68

⁵⁹ *Ib* XVII, 15, 22, 20, and *Jour R A S*, Vol IV, p 15

⁶⁰ Bilhana's *Vikr Ch*, XVII, 6, 36-37

⁶¹ See Dr Bühler's article on the subject in *Jour B R A S*, Vol IX, p 134

Section XII

"On the surface of the earth, there was not, there is not, and there will be not, a town like Kalyâna, never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramârka seen or heard of, and—what more?—Vijñânesvara, the Pâñdit, does not bear comparison with any other⁶² [88] (person) May this triad which is like a celestial creeper⁶³ exist to the end of the Kalpa!

"May the Lord of wisdom⁶⁴ live as long as the

62 Dr Bühler's reading of the last two lines is विज्ञाने शरपण्डितो न भजते किं चान्यदमोपमा कन्दम्य स्थिरमस्तु काल्पतिकाकन्प सदेष सयम्। The Doctor connects कन्दम्य with किं चान्यत् and translates "nothing else that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison with the learned Vijñânesvara" To mean "nothing else," किं चान्यत् must be किमपन्यत्, and in this construction पण्डितो, the nominative, has no verb, अन्यत् being taken as the nominative to the verb भजते Again, it will not do to say "nothing that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison," &c, for one-half of this Kalpa only has passed away, the other half still remains, and what it *will* produce but *has not* yet produced cannot be spoken of as कल्पस्यम् or "existing in the Kalpa" The only proper reading with a slight alteration is that of the Bombay lithographed edition, which he has given in a footnote and which is किवाण्डनोपमामाकल्प Instead of वा, there must be चि here And this is the reading of a manuscript of the Mitâkshârâ, dated Samvat 1535 and Saka 1401, purchased by me about ten years ago for the Bombay Government The reading is to be translated as in the text

63 Like the celestial creeper, in so far as the triad satisfies all desires

64 Dr Bühler reads सत्र विज्ञाननाथ and construes it as a vocative The vocative does not look natural here The Bombay lithographed edition and my manuscript have विज्ञाननाथ the nominative Instead of सत्र the former has तत्र and the latter सत्त्र I have adopted this last The author has here taken the name Vijñânesvara in its etymological sense and given to विज्ञान or "knowledge" the

sun and moon endure,—he who produces words which Section XII
distil honey and than which nothing is more wonderful to the learned, gives wealth exceeding their wishes to a multitude of supplicants,⁶⁵ contemplates the form of the subjugator of Mura, and has conquered the enemies that are born with the body

“May the lord Vikramâditya protect this whole earth as long as the moon and the stars endure,—he whose feet are resplendent with the lustre of the crest jewels of prostrate kings from the bridge, which is the heap of the glory of the best scion of the Raghu race, to the lord of mountains, and from the Western Ocean, the waves⁶⁶ of which surge heavily with the nimble shoals of fishes, to the Eastern Ocean ”

Though Sanskrit authors often indulge in hyperbolic expressions without sufficient basis and as mere conventionalities, still the [89] language and manner of these stanzas do show a really enthusiastic admiration in the mind of the writer for the city, its ruler, and the great Pandit, who from the fact of the liberality attributed to him appears to have enjoyed the favour of the king and perhaps held

object सत्य or “truth,” the whole meaning “the lord of the knowledge of truth ”

65 Dr Bühler's reading here is दातार्थनामतिशययुचामधिं-
सार्थयताया Here अधताया cannot make any sense, it ought to be अधिंताया, which the lithographed edition and my manuscript have The latter reads the whole line thus — दातार्थनामतिशयज्जपामधिंसार्थादिना(ता)या[] There is another या after this, which is redundant

66 The reading of the epithet of the “Western Ocean” is corrupt in all the three I would improve that of the lithographed edition, which is चटुखिमिकुलीचक्षविगंतरगात् to चटुखिमिकुलीसुङ्गरिङ्गात् and of my manuscript to तुङ्गवृत्त-चक्रगात् The root रिङ् is used in connection with waves (see B & R's Lexicon *sub voce*)

Section XII a high office. From this and from the description given by Bilhana, as well as from Vikramāditya's inscriptions, of which we have about two hundred, it appears to be an undoubted fact that he was the greatest prince of this later Chālukya dynasty, and that during his reign the country enjoyed happiness and prosperity.

Someśvara III
or Bhūloka-
malla

Vikramāditya II was succeeded in Śaka 1048 and in the cyclic year *Parābhava* (A.D. 1127) by his son Someśvara III, who assumed the title of Bhūloka-malla⁶⁷. He had a short reign of about 11 years. He is represented to have "placed his feet on the heads of the kings of Andhra, Draviṣṭa, Magadha, Nepāla, and to have been landed by all learned men"⁶⁸. This last praise does not seem to be undeserved, for we have a work in Sanskrit written

Someśvara's
Abhilashī-
tārtha-
Chintāmāṇi

by Someśvara entitled *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilashī-tārtha-Chintāmāṇi*, in which a great deal of information on a variety of subjects is given. The book is divided into five parts. In the first are given the causes which lead to the acquisition of a kingdom, in the second, those that enable one to retain it after he has acquired it, in the third, the kinds of enjoyment which are open to a king after he has rendered his power firm, in the fourth, the modes of diversion which give mental pleasure, and in the fifth, sports or amusements. Each of these consists of twenty kinds. In the first are included such virtues as shunning lies, refraining from injury to others, continence, generosity, affability, faith in the gods, feeding and supporting the poor and helpless, friends and adherents, &c. Under the second head are described what are called the seven *angas*, i.e., the ideal king.

⁶⁷ *Jour R A S*, Vol IV, p 15. The current Śaka year corresponding to *Parābhava* was 1049.

⁶⁸ *Jour B P R A S*, Vol XI, p 268.

his ministers including the priest and the astrologer, the treasury and the way of replenishing it, the army, &c. The enjoyments are—a beautiful palace, bathing, anointing, rich clothing, ornaments, &c. The diversions are—military practice, horsemanship, training elephants, wrestling, cockfights, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing, and others. The last class comprises sports in gardens and fields, or on mountains and sandbanks, games, enjoyment of the company of women, &c. In connection with these subjects there are few branches of learning or art in Sanskrit the main principles of which are not stated. We have polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants, and dogs, &c. The king does appear to have been a man of learning, and it was on that account that he received the title of *Sarvajñabhūṣaṇa*⁶⁹ or the “all-knowing king.” In the *Mānasollāsa*, in connection with the preparation of an almanac, the day used as an epoch from which to calculate the positions of certain heavenly bodies is stated as “Friday, the beginning of the month of Chaitra, [90] one thousand and fifty-one years of Śaka having elapsed, the year of the cycle being *Saumya*, while the king Soma, the ornament of the Chālukya [race], who was the very sage Agastya to the ocean of the essences of all the Śāstras,⁷⁰ and whose enemies were destroyed, was ruling over the sea-begirt earth⁷¹ This work, there-

Date given
in the
Abhilashī-
tārtha
Chintāmaṇi

⁶⁹ *Ib.*, pp. 259 and 268

⁷⁰ That is, he drank the essences of all the Śāstras or sciences as the sage Agastya drank the whole ocean

⁷¹ एकपञ्चाश्रद्धिके सहस्रे श्रद्धा गते ।

शकाद सोमभूपाले सति चालुक्यमण्डने ॥

Section XII fore, was written in the fourth year after his accession

Someśvara III or Bhūlokamalla was succeeded in the cyclic year *Kālayukti*,⁷² Saka 1060 or A.D. 1138, by his son Jagadekamalla. Nothing particular is recorded of him. He reigned for 12 years and was succeeded by his brother Tailapa II, Nurmaṇi Taila or Traiokyamalla, in Saka 1072, *Pramoda* Samvatsara.⁷³ During these two reigns the power of the Chālukyas rapidly declined, and some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. The opportunity was seized by a dependent chief named Vijjala or Vijjana of the Kalachuri race, who held the office of *Dandanāyaka* or minister of war under Tailapa. He conceived the design of usurping the throne of his master, and endeavoured to secure the sympathies and co-operation of some of the powerful

Jagadeka-
malla

Tailapa II

Ambitions
designs of
Vijjala

समुद्ररसनामुर्वे ज्ञासति चतुषिद्विषि ।
सदंशास्त्रायसर्वमधायोधिकलशीहृवे ॥
सौम्यमवरसरे चेष्टमासादी शुक्रवासरे ।
परिशाखितसिद्धान्तलक्ष्मा सुर्युपका इमे ॥

⁷² The *Siddhīrthīn* Samvatsara is mentioned as the second of his reign, wherefore the preceding *Kālayukti* (Saka 1060) must have been the first. The current Saka year was 1061 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 141. There are several inscriptions in which the name of Jagadekamalla occurs, but it is difficult to make out whether they belong to the reign of this king or Javasimha-Jagadekamalla, since the cyclic year only is given in them. Sometimes the year of the king's reign is also given, but that even does not help in settling the point. For Javasimha began to reign in Saka 940, just 120 years or two complete cycles of 60 years each before Jagadekamalla II, and consequently the cyclic years and the years of their reigns are the same.

⁷³ For the *Yuva* Samvatsara was the sixth of his reign and it fell next after Saka 1077. In *Pramoda*, 1073 was the current Saka year and 1072 years had expired, P. 111, S. 112, and old Can. Ins. No. 181.

and semi-independent chiefs. Vijayârka, the Mahâ- Section XII mañçalesvara of Kolhâpur, was one of those who assisted him,⁷⁴ and Prolarâja of the Kâkateya dynasty of Tailangana, who is represented to have fought with Tailapa, did so probably to advance the same cause.⁷⁵ He kept his master Tailapa under complete subjection till Śaka 1079 or A D 1157, when Tailapa left Kalvâna and fled to Annigeri in the Dhârvâd district, which now became the capital of his kingdom greatly reduced in extent. There is an inscription dated Śaka 1079, in Vijjana's name, the cyclic [91] year being *Isvara*, and the next Samvatsara, *Bahudhâñja*, is spoken of as the second year of his reign.⁷⁶ He does not however seem to have assumed the titles of supreme sovereignty till Śaka 1084, when he marched against Tailapa II, who was at Annigeri, and proclaimed himself an independent monarch. Tailapa seems then to have gone further south and established himself at Banavâsi.⁷⁷ The latest year of supreme sovereignty mentioned in the inscriptions is the fifteenth, the Samvatsara or cyclic year being by Vijjala *Parthiva*, which was current next after Śaka 1087.⁷⁸

For some time there was an interruption in the Châlukya power, and the Kalachuris seem to have held possession of the whole territory of that dynasty. But internal dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingâvata creed and the assassination of Vijjapa considerably weakned the power of the Kalachuris, and

⁷⁴ Grant of Bhoja II of Kolhâpur, Trans. Bomb. Lit. Soc., Vol. III. See Section XVI.

⁷⁵ He is said to have captured Tailapa and let him off through his devotion for him. He probably owed some allegiance to the Châlukya sovereign. Ins. of Rudradeva, Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp. 12-13, lines 27-30.

⁷⁶ P. S. & O. C. Ins. Nos. 219 and 182.

⁷⁷ Jour. R. A. S. Vol. IV, p. 16.

⁷⁸ P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 140.

Section XII about the Śaka year 1104 Somesvara, the son of Nurmaḍi Taila, succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the hereditary dominions of his family, and established himself at Annigeri. He owed his restoration to power to the valour and devoted attachment of a feudatory of his family named Brahma or Bomma, who fought several battles with the enemies of his master and is said to have conquered sixty elephants by means of a single one⁷⁹. Bomma is represented in an inscription at Annigeri dated Śaka 1106 to have destroyed the Kalachuris and restored the Chālukyas to the throne⁸⁰. But a short time after, the Yādavas of the south rose under Vīra Ballāla and of the north under Bhillama. They both fought with Bomma, but success at first attended the arms of Vīra Ballāla, who subdued the Chālukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty⁸¹. We lose trace of Vīra Soma or Somesvara IV after Śaka 1111.

Extinction of the Chālukya power

A branch of the Chālukya family in Southern Konkan

The Chālukya family must have thrown out several branches of petty chiefs. One such has been brought to light by a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1182, *Raudra Samvatsara*, which was in the possession of the Khot of Teravan, a village in the Rījāpur tāluka of the Ratnāgiri district⁸². The donor Kesava Mahājanī was the minister of a Mahāmāndalesvara or chief of the name of Kāriṇadeva, one of whose titles was "the sun that blows open the lotus bud in the shape of the Chālukya race". He is also called *Kalvānapuravarādhīśvara* or "lord of Kalyāṇa the

⁷⁹ *Jour R A S*, Vol IV, p 16, *Ind Ant*, Vol II, p 300, 1 29

⁸⁰ *Jour R A S*, Vol IV, p 16

⁸¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol II, p 300, II 29-30

⁸² Published in *Jour R A S*, Vol V, in *Jour R A S*, Vol IV, p 105, and *Memoir, Savantādi State*, Govt Rec No X

best of cities," which like several such titles of other Section XII chiefs⁸³ simply shows that he belonged to the family that once reigned with glory at Kalyâna. The village conveyed by the grant was Teravâṭaka, identified with Teravaṇ itself, from which it would appear that Kâmvadeva was chief of that part of Konkan. There is an inscription in the temple of Ambâbâi at Kolhâpur in which is recorded the grant of a village by Somadeva who belonged to the Châlukya family and reigned at Samgamesvara, which is twelve *kos* to the north-east of Ratnâgiri. Somadeva was the son of Vetugideva and the father of the last was Karnadeva⁸⁴. Probably the Kâmvadeva of the Teravan grant belonged to this branch of the family. There are still Marâṭhâ families of the name of Chalke reduced to poverty in the Samgamesvara Tâluka or in the vicinity.

⁸³ See *infra*, Section XVI

⁸⁴ Jour B B R A S, Vol II, p 263

[93] SECTION XIII

THE KALACHURIS

Section XIII

Original
seat of the
Kalachuri of
Haihaya
family

THE earliest mention of a family of this name that we have is in connection with Maṅgahisa of the early Châlukya dynasty. Viṇayâditya is represented in one of his inscriptions to have subdued the Haihayas and Vikramâditya II married, as we have seen, two girls who were sisters belonging to the family.¹ The later Râshîrakûṭa princes were also connected by marriage with the Haihayas. This family known also by the name of Kalachuri or Kulachuri² ruled over Chedi or the country about Jabalpur. The Kalachuris of Kalyâna must have been an offshoot of this family. One of the titles used by Vijjana was *Kâlânjarapuravarâdhîśvara* "or Lord of the best city of Kâlânjara."³ Kâlânjara was a stronghold belonging to the rulers of Chedi⁴ and was probably their capital, though Tripura, the modern Tevur, is also known to have been the principal seat of the family. The title, therefore, connects the Kalyâna branch of the Kalachuris with the Chedi family. This branch was founded by Kriṣṇa, who in the Belgaum grant⁵ is spoken of as "another Kriṣṇa," the incarnation of Vishnu, and as "having done wonderful deeds even during his boyhood." He was succeeded by his son Jogaṇa, and Jogaṇa by his son Paramardin. Paramardin was the father of Vijjana. Vijjana before his usurpation called

¹ *Supra*, Section X.

² See grant published in Arch. Surv. West Ind., No. 11.

³ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, p. 330, No. 5.

⁴ Pâlhanâ's Viṭṭ. Ch. XVIII, p. 93. Kâlânjara seems to be represented here to have conquered Kâlânjara.

⁵ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII, p. 270.

himself only a Mahâmañdaleśvara or minor chief, and is first mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadekamalla, the successor of Somesvara III⁶. The manner in which he drove away Taila III from Kalyâna, and having raised himself to the supreme power in the state gradually assumed the titles of a paramount sovereign, has already been described. But soon after, a religious revolution took place at Kalyâna, and Vijaya and his family succumbed to it

A religious revolution at Kalyâna

The principal leader of that revolution was a person of the name of Basava. A work in Kanarese entitled Basava Purâna gives an account of Basava, but it is full of marvellous stories and relates the wonderful miracles wrought by him. The principal incidents, however, may be relied on as historical. On the other hand there is another work entitled Vijjalarâyacharita, written by a Jaina, which gives an account of the events from the opposite side, since the attacks of the Lingâyatas were chiefly directed against the Jainas, and these were their enemies.

Basava was the son of a Brâhmaṇ named Mâdi-Basava râja, who lived at Bâgevâdi in the Kalâdgî district. Baļadeva, the prime minister of Vijaya, was his maternal uncle and gave him his daughter in marriage.⁷ After Baļadeva's death the king appointed Basava his [94] prime minister as being closely related to Baļadeva.⁸ The Jainas, however, state that Basava had a beautiful sister named Padmâvatî, of whom the king became enamoured and whom he either married or made his mistress⁹, and it was on that account that he was raised to that office and

⁶ P. S. & O. C. Ins. No 119

⁷ Basava Purâna, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII, p. 67

⁸ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII, p. 69

⁹ Ib., p. 97 Sir W. Elliot's paper, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 20

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became a man of influence. There must be some truth in this story, for the Basava Purâna narrates that the king gave his younger sister Nilalochanî in marriage to Basava, which looks as if it were a counter-story devised to throw discredit on the other which was so derogatory to Basava.¹⁰ Basava had another sister named Nâgalâmbikâ, who had a son named Chenna-Basava or Basava the younger. In concert with him Basava began to propound a new doctrine and a new mode of worshipping Siva, in which the Linga and the Nandin or bull were prominent. He speedily got a large number of followers, and ordained a great many priests, who were called Jangamas. Basava had charge of the king's treasury, and out of it he spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining these Jangamas, who led a profligate life. Vijjana had another minister named Mañchappa, who was the enemy of Basava, and informed the king of his rival's embezzlements.¹¹ In the course of time Vijjana was completely alienated from Vasava and endeavoured to apprehend him. But he made his escape with a number of followers, whereupon the king sent some men in pursuit. These were easily dispersed by Basava, and then Vijjana advanced in person. But a large number of followers now joined Basava, and the king was defeated and had to submit to his minister. Basava was allowed to return to Kalvâna and reinstated in his office.¹² There was, however, no possibility of a complete reconciliation, and after some time the leader of the new sect conceived the design of putting the king to death. The circumstances that immediately led to

¹⁰ Jour B B R & S, Vol VIII, p 70

¹¹ Ib, pp 75 & 89

¹² Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 21, Jour P B P 3rd, Vol VIII, p 80

the deed and the manner in which it was perpetrated Section XIII.
are thus stated in the Basava Purâna

At Kalvâna there were two pious Lingâyatâs Basava plans the murder of the King named Halleyaga and Madhuvarya, who were the devout adherents of their master Basava Account of the event according to the Basava Purâna Vijjâna, listening to the calumnious accusations of their enemies, caused their eyes to be put out. All the disciples of Basava were highly indignant at this cruel treatment of these holy men, and assembled in their master's house. Basava ordered Jagaddeva to murder the king, pronounced a curse on Kalvâna, and left the town. Jagaddeva hesitated for a moment, but his mother spurred him on, and with two companions, Mallaya and Bommaya, went straight to the palace of the king, and rushing through the throng of courtiers, counsellors, and princes, they drew their poignards and stabbed Vijjâna. Thence they went into the streets, and brandishing their weapons proclaimed the reason of their perpetrating the deed. Then arose dissensions in the city, men fought with men, horses with horses, and elephants with elephants, the race of Vijjâna was extinct, Kalvâna was a heap of ruins, and the curse pronounced [95] by Basava was verified. Basava went in haste to his favourite shrine of Sangamesvara, situated on the confluence of the Malaprabhâ with the Krishnâ, and there in compliance with his prayers the god absorbed him in his body.¹³

The account given by the Jainas is different Jaina account Vijjâna had gone on an expedition to Kolhâpur to reduce the Silâhâra chief Bhoja II to subjection. In the course of his march back to the capital he encamped at a certain place on the banks of the Bhîmâ, and, while reposing in his tent, Basava sent

¹³ Jour B B R A S, Vol VIII, p 96, Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, pp 309-310

Section XIII to him a Jangama disguised as a Jaina with a poisoned fruit Vija^{na}, who is said to have been a Jaina himself, unsuspectingly took the fruit from the hands of the seeming Jaina priest, and as soon as he smelled it, he became senseless. His son Immadi Vija^{na} and others hastened to the spot, but to no purpose. Vija^{pa}, however, somewhat recovered his senses for a short while, and knowing who it was that had sent the poisoned fruit, enjoined his son to put Basava to death. Immadi Vija^{na} gave orders that Basava should be arrested and all Jangamas, wherever found, executed.¹⁴ On hearing of this, Basava fled, and being pursued went to the Malabar coast and took refuge at a place called Ulavi.¹⁵ The town was closely invested and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and died, while his wife Nīlāmbā put an end to her existence by drinking poison. When Vija^{na}'s son was pacified, Chenna Basava surrendered all his uncle's property to him and was admitted into favour.¹⁶ He now became the sole leader of the Lingāyatās, but, even before, his position was in some respects superior to that of Basava. The religious portion of the movement was under his sole direction, and it was he who shaped the creed of the sect. In him the *Pranava* or sacred syllable *Om* is said to have become incarnate to teach the doctrines of the Vira Śiva faith to *Bura*,¹⁷ and, according to the Chenna-Basava Purana, "Chenna-Basava was Śiva, Basava, Vṛishabha (or Śiva's bull, the Nandin), Bija^{la}, the door-keeper, Kalyāna, Kailāsa, (and) Śiva worshippers (or

Chenna-
Basava's
leadership

¹⁴ Wilson's "MacKenzie MSS.", p. 177

¹⁵ Jotir R. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 22

¹⁶ Wilson's "MacKenzie MSS.", p. 177

¹⁷ Ib., p. 221

Lingayatas), the Siva host (or the troops of Siva's Section XIII attendants)”¹⁸

Vijjana's death took place in Saka 1089 (1090 current), or A D 1167. He was succeeded by his son Soma, who is also called Sovideva or Somesvara. The Belgaum copper-plate charter was issued by him on the twelfth of the bright half of Kārttika in Saka 1096, the cyclic year being *Jaya*, to confirm the grant of land to fourteen Brāhmans and the god Somesvara made by one of his queens named Bāvaladevī. The king had given her his consent to make the grant as a reward for a beautiful song that she sang on an occasion when the most influential persons belonging to his own and other kingdoms had gathered together in his audience-hall. Soma reigned till Saka 1100 and was followed by his brother Samkama, whose Samkama inscriptions come down to the cyclic year *Subhakṣit*. In an [96] inscription at Baṭagāmve the cyclic year *Vikārin* (S 1101) is called the third of his reign,¹⁹ while in another at the same place the same year is spoken of as the fifth.²⁰ In other inscriptions we have two names Samkama and Āhavamalla and the cyclic years *Sārvārin* (S 1102) and *Plava* (S 1103) are represented as the third year of his or their reign, which is possible, and *Subhakṣit* (S 1104) as the eighth.²¹ About Saka 1104 the Chālukya prince Somesvara IV wrested some of the provinces of his ancestral dominions from the Kalachuris, and the rest must have been conquered by the Northern Yādavas, so that about this time the Kalachuri dynasty became extinct. Extinction of the Kalachuri dynasty

¹⁸ Jour B B R A S, Vol VIII, p 127

¹⁹ P S & O C Ins No 183

²⁰ Ib No 189

²¹ Ib Nos 190, 192 and 193

Section XIII

Religious and social condition of the people during the later Chalukya period

Buddhism

Jainism

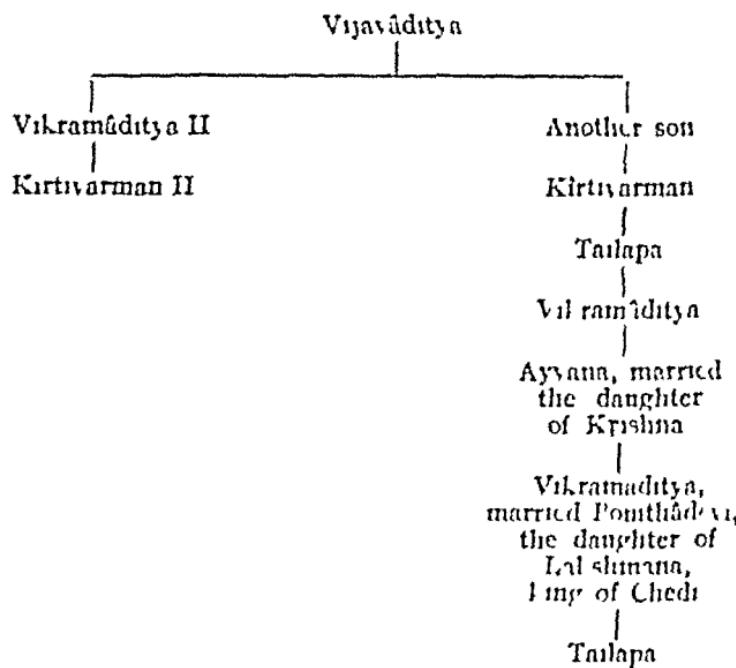
During the period occupied by the later Chalukya dynasty and the Kalachuris (Saka 895-1110 or A.D. 973-1188), the old state of things as regards the religious and social condition of the country may be said to have finally disappeared and the new ushered in. First, we have in this period what might be considered the last traces of Buddhism. In the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II., in the cyclic year *Yuvan*, and the nineteenth of his era (Saka 1017), sixteen merchants of the Vaisva caste constructed a Buddhistic *vihāra* or monastery and temple at Dharmavolal, the modern Dimal in the Dhāravād district and assigned for its support and for the maintenance of another *vihāra* at Lokkigundi, the modern Lakkundi, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation.²² In Saka 1032 the Silhāra chief of Kolhapur constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Siva and Arhat, and assigned lands for their support.²³ Jainism crept in this period to be the conquering religion that it was, and about the end received an effectual check by the rise of the Lingāyata sect. This new creed spread widely among the trading classes, which before were the chief supporters of Jainism. There is a tradition in some parts of the country that some of the existing temples contained Jain idols at one time and that afterwards they were thrown out and Brāhmaṇic ones placed instead. This points to a change of feeling with reference to Jainism, the origin of which must be referred to this period.

²² Ind. An., Vol. 7, p. 12

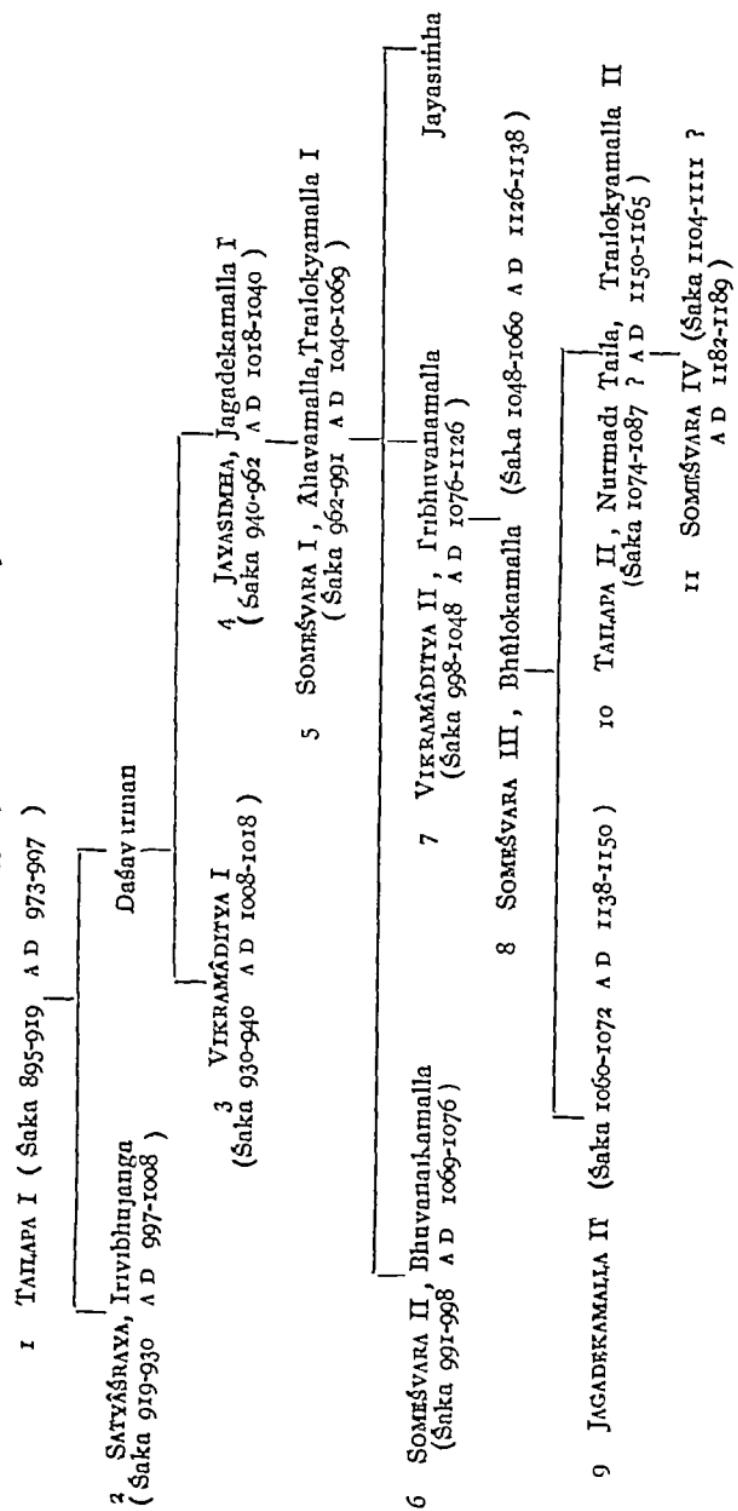
²³ Jœr P. B. P. A. S., Vol. I. III. p. 22 and infra, section 7, 1.

The worship of the Purânic gods flourished, and Section XIII as in the times of the early Chîlukyas the old sacrificial rites were reduced to a system, so during this period the endeavours of the Brâhmans and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and the ordinary religious law to ^{Purânic religion} ^{Codification of the} ^{religious} ^{law} system, or towards its codification, as it might be called. The texts or precepts on the subject were scattered in a great many Smritis and Purânas, and often there were apparent inconsistencies and the law was doubtful *ñibandhas* or digests, of which we have now so many, began to be written in this period, but the form which they first took, and which even now is one of the recognized forms, was that of commentaries on Smritis. Bhoja of Dhârâ, who belongs to the first part of this [97] period, must have written a treatise on the subject, since under the name of Dhâresvara he is referred to by Vijñânesvara in his work. He was followed by Vijñânesvara, who, as we have seen, lived at Kalvâna in the reign of Vikramâditya II. Aparîka, another commentator on Yâjñavalkya, who calls his work a *ñibandha* on the *Dharmasâstra* or institutes of Yâjñavalkya, was a prince of the Sîlhâra family of northern Konkan and was on the throne in Saka 1109 (A D 1187) and in the cyclic year *Parabha*.²⁴ Or, if he was the earlier prince of that name, he must have flourished about fifty years before. This movement was continued in the next or thirteenth century by Hemâdri, and by Sâyana in the fourteenth

Section XIII *Genealogy of the Chālukya family between Vijayāditya and Tailapa as given in the Mītra grant of Jayasīhha dated Sal a 946*



Genealogy of the later Chālukyas



[98] SECTION XIV

THE YÂDÂVAS OF DEVAGIRI

Early History of the Family

Section XIV

Authorities

THE genealogy of the Yâdavas is given in the introduction to the *Vratakhaṇḍa* attributed to or composed by Hemâdri who was a minister of Mahâdeva, one of the later princes of the dynasty. Some of the manuscripts of the work, however, do not contain it, and in others it begins with Bhullama, as it was he who acquired supreme power and raised the dynasty to importance. Others again contain an account of the family from the very beginning, the first person mentioned being the Moon who was churned out of the milky ocean. From the Moon the genealogy is carried down through all the Purânic or legendary ancestors to Mahâdeva. But it is not difficult from the account itself to determine where the legend ends and history begins. Besides, the names of most of the historical predecessors of Bhullama agree with those occurring in the copper-plate grant translated by Pandit Bhagvânâlî Indraji.¹ He considered the Yâdava dynasty mentioned in his grant to be different from that of Devagiri and called it "A New Yadava Dynasty," as, of course, in the absence of the information I now publish, he was justified in doing. But it is now perfectly clear that the princes mentioned in the grant were the ancestors of the Devagiri Yâdavas. The following early history of the family is based on the account given in the *Vratâkhaṇḍa*² and on the grant published by the Pandit

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 110 *et seq.*

² The edition of the *Vratâkhaṇḍa* in the British Museum contains neither of these two, it is visible in the

The latter, however, brings down the genealogy only Section XIV to [99] Seunachandra II who was on the throne in 991 Saka or 1069 A D, and omits the names of some of the intermediate princes. Two other grants by princes of this dynasty found at Saingamner and

portant *Prasastis* I have therefore had recourse to manuscripts. There is one manuscript only in the Government collections deposited in the Library of the Dekkan College and that is No 234 of Collection A of 1881-82 which was made by me. It contains the shorter *Prasasti* beginning with the reign of Bhullama. There is another copy in the collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona, which contains the longer *Prasasti*. Unfortunately, however, the third and fourth leaves of the manuscript are missing, and the second ends with Parammadeva the successor of Seunachandra II, while the fifth begins with some of the last stanzas of the introduction referring to Hemadri and his works. The valuable portion therefore was in leaves 3 and 4, but that is irretrievably lost. I therefore endeavoured to procure copies from the private collections in the city of Poona and obtained one from Khâsgivâle's library. It contains the shorter *Prasasti* only. My learned friend Gangâdhar Sâstri Dâtâr procured another. In it the two, the shorter one and the longer, are jumbled together. There are in the commencement the first seventeen stanzas of the shorter, and then the longer one begins, and after that is over, we have the remaining stanzas of the shorter. This is the only manuscript of the four now before me which contains the whole of the longer *Prasasti*, and the information it gives about the later princes of the dynasty known to us from the inscriptions is also valuable and new, but the manuscript is extremely incorrect. I therefore caused a search for other copies to be made at Nâsik, Kolhapur, and Ahmedabad, but none was available at those places. I give the two *Prasastis* in Appendix C. [Since the first edition was published I have obtained and purchased another copy of the *Vartakhaṇḍa* for the Government collections. The introductory portion here is more correctly written, and I have used it in revising this section and the *Prasasti* in Appendix C.]

Section XIV Kalas-Budruk of earlier dates³ have been recently published, and these also have been compared

Dṛiḍha-
prahāra, the
founder of
the family

Subâhu who belonged to the Yâdava race was a universal sovereign. He had four sons among whom he divided the whole earth ruled over by him. The second son Dṛiḍhaprahâra⁴ became king in the south or Dekkan. The Yâdavas, it is stated, were at first lords of Mathurâ, then from the time of Kṛishṇa they became sovereigns of Dvâravati or Dvîrakâ, and came to be rulers of the south from the time of the son of Subâhu, viz., Dṛiḍhaprahâra. His capital was Srinagara according to the Vratakhanḍa, while from the grant it appears to have been a town of the name of Chandrâdityapura, which may have been the modern Chîmdor in the Nâsik district. He had a son of the name of Seunichandra who succeeded to the throne. The country over which he ruled was called Seunadesa⁵ after him, and he appears to have founded a town also of the name of Seunapura. Seunadesa was the name of the region extending from Nâsik to Devagiri, the modern Daulatâbâd, since later on we are told that Devagiri was situated in Seunadesa and that this latter was situated on the confines of Dandakâranya⁶. This name seems to be preserved in the modern Khîndes. In a foot-note on

³ Mr. Cousens's impression of the first of these grants was seen by me before it was published by Prof. Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 212 *et seq.*, and its contents embodied in the copy of this work revised for this second edition. I have, however, since availed myself of one or two points made out by Prof. Kielhorn and not noticed by me. The second grant is published in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 129, *et seq.*

⁴ He is called Dṛiḍhaprahâra (from *kr̥mī*) in the '155, stanza 23, Appendix C. I

⁵ Stanza 22, Appendix C. I

⁶ Stanza 19, Appendix C. II

Seuna-
chandra I
Seunadesa

the opening page of the Khândes Volume, the Editor of the "Bombay Gazetteer" observes that the name of the country was older than Musalman times, and it was afterwards changed by them to suit the title of Khân given to the Fâruki kings by Ahmed I of Gujarât Seunadesa, therefore, was very likely the original name and it was changed to Khândes, which name soon came into general use on account of its close resemblance in sound to Seunadesa. The country however extended farther southwards than the present district of Khândes, since it included Devagîrî or Daulatâbâd, and probably it did not include the portion north of the Tâpî.

Seunachandra's son Dhâdiyappa⁷ became king after him and he was succeeded by his son Bhillama. After Bhillama, his son Srîrâja according to the grants, or Râjugî according to the other authority, came to the throne, and he was succeeded⁸ by his son Vaddiga or Vâdugi. Vaddiga is in the Sam-gammer grant represented as a follower of Kriśnârâja who was probably Kriśna III of the Râshtrakûṭa dynasty, and to have married Voddiyavvâ.

⁷ Called Dhâdiyasa in the MSS., Appendix C I, stanza 23.

⁸ *Ibid* Pandit Bhagvânlâl translates the words *ariâk tasya* (see note 10 below) occurring in the Yâdava grant as "before him" and placing Vaddiga before Srîrâja, conjectures that he was Bhillama's son and that Srîrâja his uncle deposed him and usurped the throne, (Ind Ant, Vol XII, pp 125a and 128b) But *ariâk tasya* can never mean "before him," and must mean "after him," and hence the conjectures are groundless. I have never seen a preceding prince mentioned in the grants after his successor, with such an introductory expression as "before him so and so became king." By the occurrence of the word राजसे in stanza 23, line 2, Appendix C I, it appears Râjugî was the son of Bhillama I.

Section XIV daughter of a [100] prince of the name of Dhiorappa
 Then came Dhādiyasa,⁹ who was the son of Vādugi
 according to the Vratakhandā Two of the grants
 omit his name, probably because he was only a collateral
 and not an ancestor of the grantor in the direct
 line, and the third has a line or two missing here
 Dhādiyasa was succeeded by Bhillama, who was the
 son of Vaddiga or Vādugi and consequently his
 Bhillama II brother¹⁰ Bhillama married according to the grants

⁹ Appendix C I stanza 24 If he had been mentioned
 in the grant, he would probably have been called
 Dhādiyappa

¹⁰ Ibid Pandit Bhagwanlāl omits this prince though he
 is mentioned in his grant The last two lines of the fourth
 stanza in this are —

आदिकाम यमुख भूतवद्दरि शीरहिमारी शृणु
 तमाद्यावरभित्तिभित्तिपते प्रवृत्तधमाभयत् ॥

The Pandit translates this —"Before him was the illustrious
 King Vaddiga, a Hari on earth, and therefore he was exactly
 like the illustrious good Bhillama in his actions" I have
 already remarked that instead of "before him," we should
 have "after him" here. The word तस्मात् is translated by
 'therefore' 'Wherefore?' I would ask No reason is
 given in the first of these lines for his being exactly तस्मात्
 Bhillama, and therefore, it will not do to translit. तस्मात्
 by "therefore" Again, the Pandit's interpretation of
 प्रवृत्तधमा यमुख 'exactly like in actions' is fritschned and
 unnatural The thing is, the genitive or ablative यमुख
 cannot be connected with any word in the line, and is there
 fore one of the innumerable mistakes which we find in
 this grant and not of such has been pointed out by
 Pandit himself What is wanted here is the number
 वित्तिभित्ति for वित्तिभित्ति and then the whole is app'd to him
 and तस्मात् will have its proper meaning 'after him,' 'from him'
 The correct translation then is "After him
 was a line or the name of Vaddiga the pre, to be, to be
 a Hari on earth, and after him or of him the Vaddiga
 came the pre, prior grant Bhillama in whom Virtue is, and

Lakshmi or Lachchiyavvâ,¹¹ the daughter of Jhañjha, Section XIV who was probably the Silahâra prince of Thânâ of that name Lachchiyavvâ sprang on her mother's side from the Râshtrakûta family, and through her son became "the upholder of the race of Yadu,"¹²

incarnate" In this way we have here another king Bhullama, as mentioned in the Praśasti in the Vratâkhaṇḍa in the passage cited above

11 This lady, according to my translation, becomes the wife of Bhullama, who is the king mentioned immediately before and not of his father Vaddiga as the Panḍit makes out

12 Here there is another difficulty arising from a mistake in the grant which Panḍit Bhagvânâlal has in my opinion not succeeded in solving, and he bases upon that mistake conjectures which are rather too far reaching (p 125a, Ind Ant, Vol XII) The stanza is —

भाया यस च भूम्भराजतनया श्रीलस्त्रियस्त्राप्तया
घमस्यागविवेकद्विसगुणा राष्ट्रकूटान्वया ।
या जाता नवयालनाजसमये यदन्वयाधारिता
सप्तगोद्यतरान्व्यमारधरणाद्रायक्यार्था तत ॥

The Panḍit's translation is —"Whose wife was the daughter of king Jhañjha Lashthiyavvâ by name, possessed of the (three) good qualities of virtue, liberality, and hospitality, who was of the Râshtrakûta race, as being adopted (by them) at the time of the rule of the young prince (during his minority) and who therefore by reason of bearing the burden of the kingdoms, with its seven angas, was an object of reverence to the three kingdoms "

I agree with the Pandit in reading श्री before राष्ट्रकूटान्वया and taking रायव्य as राष्ट्रव्य, and, generally, in his translation of the first two and the fourth lines But the translation of the third line, that is, the portion italicised in the above, is very objectionable The Panḍit reads राज from नाज and says that the य in यदन्वया ought to be long for the metre, but would make no sense Now, in seeking the true solution of the difficulty here, we must bear in mind that in the fourth line the lady is spoken of as "an object of reverence to the three kingdoms" Which are the three

Section XIV

so that she was connected with three ruling dynasties and flourishing kingdoms. The Sanigamner grant appears to have been issued by this Bhillama in the Saka year 922, i.e. 1000 A.D., and the prince mentioned in [101] the grant as having struck a blow against the power of Muñja and rendered the sovereign authority of Ranarangabhimā firm seems also to be he himself. Ranarangabhimā was probably

kingdoms? First evidently, that of Jhañya, her father, who is spoken of in the first line, and secondly, that of the Rishtrakūṭas from whose race she is spoken of as having sprung in the second line. Now, we must expect some allusion to the third kingdom in the third line. The third kingdom was clearly that of the Yādavas into whose family she had been married. I, therefore, read यदन्या० for यदन्या० and thus the difficulty about the metre is removed, the य० becoming prosodically long in consequence of the following ए० In the same manner I think याननाम० is a mistake for यानज्ञान० The word ज्ञान० the writer must have taken from his vernacular and considered it a Sanskrit word, or probably not knowing Sanskrit well, he must have formed it from the root ज्ञ॑ on the analogy of माद॒ from म॒, माद॒ from म॒, मान॒ from म॒ &c. Or याननाम० may be considered as a mistake for यानज्ञान०, the sense being the same, viz. "birth of a child." The compound यदन्यायासिता० is to be dissolved as याधासित॒ यदन्य॑ यया० याधासित॒ being made the second member according to Pāṇini II 2, 37. Or, the line may be read as या० याया० यवयामज्ञामसम॒ यदन्यायासित॒, the dot over ए० being omitted by mistake, and याया० written as याम॒ in consequence of the usual confusion between ए० and अ०. The translation of the line, therefore, is "she became the upholder of the race of Yāda on the occasion of the birth of a new child," i.e. through her child she became the upholder of the Yādava race. In this manner the reputation of her being assisted by the Rishtrakūṭas during the young prince's minority becomes preцnd. She may have belonged to the Pāñkala race on her mother's side.

Tailapa, and thus it follows that the Yâdava prince Section XIV Bhillama II assisted Tailapa in his war with Muñja which we have already noticed Vaddiga was a follower of Kriśna III of the Râshtrakûṭa family, whose latest known date is 881 Saka, and Bhillama II of Tailapa The date 922 Saka of Bhillama's grant is consistent with these facts The Yâdavas appear thus to have transferred their allegiance from the old to the new dynasty of paramount sovereigns as soon as it rose to power The next king was Vesugi¹³ called in Paṇḍit Bhagvânîlal's grant Tesuka, which is a mistake or misreading for Vesuka or Vesuga He married Nâyaladevi, the daughter of Gogi, who is styled a feudatory of the Châlukya family,¹⁴ and was perhaps the same as the successor of the Thânâ prince Jhañjha The Râshtrakûṭas must have been overthrown by the Châlukyas about the end of Jhañjha's reign, and thus his successor became a feudatory of the Châlukyas

[102] The Vratakhanḍa places Arjuna after Vesugi,¹⁵ but the two grants omit his name, and perhaps the former mentions Arjuna not as a Yâdava prince, but Arjuna the Pâṇḍava, meaning to compare Vesugi with him and his enemies to Bhîshma The next king was Bhillama¹⁶ who according to the Kalas-
Budruk grant was Vesugi's son He married Hammâ, III, the daughter of Jayasimha and sister of Âhavamalla, son-in-law of Jayasimha the Châlukya emperor, under whose standard he

¹³ Stanza 24, Appendix C I

¹⁴ The expression चालुक्यान्वयमण्डलीक in the grant admits of being taken in the manner I have done, मण्डलीक being a mistake for माण्डलीक The Paṇḍit understands Gogîrâja as belonging to the Châlukya race I consider my interpretation to be more probable

¹⁵ Stanza 24, Appendix C I ¹⁶ Stanza 26, *Ibid*

Section XIV fought several battles¹⁷ The Kalas-Budruk charter was issued by this prince in 948 Saka The cyclic year being Krodhana, 948 Saka must have been the current year, corresponding to 1025 A.D. Pandit Bhagvānlāl's grant then proceeds at once to the donor, the reigning prince Seuna, who is spoken of in general terms as "having sprung from the race" of the last-mentioned king, and is represented to have defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after "the death of Bhillama" This Bhillama was his immediate predecessor, but he was a different person from the brother-in-law of Āhavamalla, since Seuna, is spoken of not as the son of the latter or any such near relation but simply as "having sprung from his race" The Vratakhandā supplies the names of the intermediate princes The elder Bhillama was succeeded by Vādugi,¹⁸ his son, "whose praise was sung by poets in melodious words" After him Vesugi¹⁹ became king, but how he was related to Vādugi we are not told He humbled a number of subordinate chiefs who had grown troublesome Then came Bhillama, and after him Scun²⁰ who issued the charter translated by Pandit Bhagvānlāl What relationship the last three princes bore to each other is not stated Seuna is represented to have saved Paramardideva, that is, Vikramāditya II, who is styled the "luminary of the Chilukya family" from a coalition of his enemies, and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyāṇi²¹ This appears to be a reference to the coalition between the Venṭī prince and Vikramāditya's brother Somesvara The Yādava

Senna-
chandra II
the ally of
Vikram-
āditya II

¹⁷ This appears to me to be the general sense of stanza 9 and not that he fought with Āhavamalla as Pandit Bhagvānlāl understands I need not discuss the matter in detail

¹⁸ Stanza 26, Appendix C 1

¹⁹ Stanza 27, 111

²⁰ Stanza 26, 1b

²¹ Stanza 2, 1b

prince Seuna was thus a close ally of the Châlukya monarch and their dates also are consistent with the fact Seunachandra's grant is dated Śaka 991 *Saumya Samvatsara*, while Vikramâditya II got possession of the Châlukya throne in Śaka 998 *Nala*. The grant mentions the relations of previous Yâdava princes to the Châlukyas of Kalyâna, while the important service rendered by Seunachandra to Vikramâditya is not recorded, and he is spoken of only in general terms as having vanquished "all kings." This itself shows that in all likelihood the fact mentioned in the *Vratakhandâ* of Seunachandra's having delivered that prince from his enemies and placed him on the throne took place after Śaka 991, and we know it as a matter of fact that Vikramâditya became king in Śaka 998.

[103] Seunachandra was succeeded by Paramma- Successors of Seunachandra II
deva who was probably his son, and after him came Simharâja²² or "King Simha," whose full name was Singhaṇa²³ and who appears to have been his brother. He is said to have brought an elephant of the name of Karpûratilaka from Lañjipura and thus did a piece of service to Paramardin, who appears to be Vikramâditya II of the Châlukya dynasty.²⁴ He was succeeded by his son Mallugi, who took a town of the name of Parnakheṭa from his enemies, and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala or Orissa.²⁵ Then followed his son Amaragângeya²⁶ whose name is mentioned in a copper-plate grant issued in the reign of a subsequent king.²⁷ After him came

²² Stanzas 30 and 31, Appendix C I

²³ Ind. Ant., Vol XIV, p 315

²⁴ Stanza 32, Appendix C I

²⁵ Stanzas 33 and 34, *Ibid*

²⁶ Stanza 35, *Ibid*

²⁷ Jour B B R A S, Vol XV, p 386

Section XIV
Bhillama V,
 the founder
 of the
 Yâdava
 Empire

Govindarâja who was probably his son Govindarâja was succeeded by Amaramallagi, a son of Mallugi, and he by Kâliya Ballâja. This prince was in all likelihood the son of Amaramallagi, though it is not expressly stated. Ballâja's sons were set aside and the sovereignty of the Yâdava family fell into the hands of his uncle Bhillama,²⁸ who was possessed of superior abilities. Bhillama being represented as the uncle of Ballâja must have been another son of Mallugi, and he is so spoken of in the grant referred to above.²⁹ He got possession of the throne after two of his brothers and their sons, wherefore he must have been a very old man at the time. Hence it is that he reigned only for a short time, having come to the throne in Saka 1109 and died in 1113. It was this Bhillama who acquired for his family the empire that was ruled over by the Châlukyas.

Pandit Bhagvânâlî has published a stone-inscrip-

Senâ-
 chandra of
 Ajânceti

²⁸ Stanzas 35-37, Appendix C I

²⁹ In an inscription at Gîdag published by Dr. Kielhorn (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 219) Bhillama is represented as the son of Karpa, who is said to be a brother of Amara gangeya. In the many inscriptions of the Yâdava dynasty and in the Prañastis given in several books the name Karpa does not occur even once. The Gadag inscription makes Millugi the son of Sevannadeva, while in the Vratâlhângî and the Pañhan plates he is represented as the son of Singham, who according to the former authority was one of the successors of Senâchandra and was probably his younger son. The inscription is here opposed to two authorities which agree with each other. Hence this must be a mistake and that makes it probable that the other is also a mistake. These suppositions are strengthened by the fact that the composer of the Gîdag inscription does not mention a single particular fact with reference to any one of the princes, thus showing that he had no accurate knowledge of them. Such a merely conventional description is characteristic of a forged charter. I am, for these reasons, inclined to think that the Gîdag grant published by Dr. Kielhorn is a forgery.

tion³⁰ existing in a ruined temple at Añjaneri near Section XIV Nāsik, in which a chief of the Yādava family, named Scundeva, is represented to have made some grant in the Śaka year 1063³¹ to a Jain temple. From the account given above, it will be seen that there were two princes only of the name of Seupā in the Yādava family, and that the later of the two was in all of Vītrāmīdīvī II, and consequently reigned about the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century of the Śaka [104] era. The Scundeva of the Añjaneri inscription therefore can not be this individual, and no other prince of that name is mentioned in the Vratākhanda. Besides Scundeva calls himself pointedly a *Mahāsāmanta* or chief only, while about 1063 Śaka, when the Chalukya power had begun to decline, it does not appear likely that the Yādava of Seupādēsa should give themselves such an inferior title. It therefore appears to me that the Seupādeva of Añjaneri belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family dependent on the main branch, and that the branch ruled over a small district of which Añjaneri was the chief city.

The number of princes who reigned from Dṛishtha-
prahara to Bhillama V inclusive is 22. There are
in the list a good many who belonged to the same
generation as their predecessors and consequently family
these twenty-two do not represent so many different
generations. Allowing, therefore, the usual average,
in such cases of 18 years to each reign, the period
that must have elapsed between the accession of
Dṛishthaprahara and the death of Bhillama V is 396
years. The dynasty, therefore, was founded about

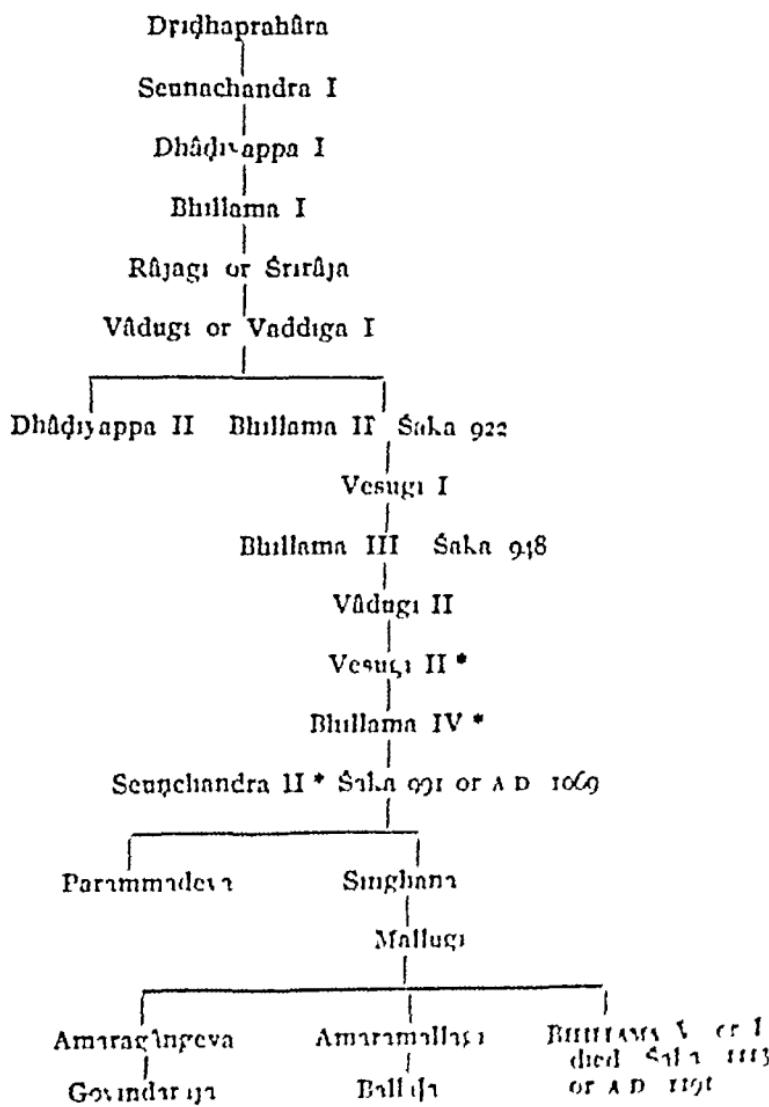
Approximate
date of the
foundation
of the
Yādava
family

³⁰ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 126.

³¹ The correct year has been shown to be 1064 Śaka by Prof. Kielhorn, Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 422.

Section XIV 737 Śaka or 795 A.D., that is, about the time of Govind III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa race. Possibly considering that Vaddiga I was contemporary of Kṛishna LI, one might say that the dynasty was founded in the latter part of the reign of Amoghavarsha I.

Genealogy of the early Yādavas or the Yādavas of Scunadesa



* The relations of those whose names are marked with an asterisk to their predecessors are not clearly stated.

[105] SECTION XV

THE YÂDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

Later History

We have seen that the Hoysâla Yâdavas of Section XV Halebid in Maisur were becoming powerful in the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramâditya II and aspiring to the supreme sovereignty of the Dekkan, and Vishnuvardhana, the reigning prince of the family at that period, actually invaded the Châlukya territory and encamped on the banks of the Krishnâ-Venâ. But those times were not favourable for the realization of their ambitious projects. The Châlukya prince was a man of great ability, the power of the family was firmly established over the country, its resources were large, and the dependent chiefs and noblemen were obedient. But the state of things had now changed. Weaker princes had succeeded, the Châlukya power had been broken by their dependents the Kalachuris, and these in their turn had succumbed to the internal troubles and dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingâyata sect. At this time the occupant of the Hoysâla throne was Vîra Ballâla, the grandson of Vishnuvardhana. He Vîra fought with Brâhma or Bomma, the general of the last Châlukya prince Somesvara IV, and putting down his elephants by means of his horses defeated him and acquired the provinces which the general had won back from Vijjapa¹. Ballâla

The Yâdavas of the north were not slow to take advantage of the unsettled condition of the country to extend their power and territory. Mallugi seems to have been engaged in a war with Vijjapa. A

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 300

Section XV

person of the name of Dādā was commander of his troops of elephants and is represented to have gained some advantages over the army of the Kalachuri prince. He had four sons of the names of Mahidhara, Jahla, Sāmba, and Gaugādhara. Of these Mahidhara succeeded his father and is spoken of as having defeated the forces of Vijjana². But the acquisition of the empire of the Chālukyas was [106] completed by Mallugi's son Bhillama. He captured a town of the name of Srivardhana from a king who is called Antala, vanquished in battle the king of Pratyandaka, put to death the ruler of Mangalaveshṭaka, (Mangal veḍhem), of the name of Villana, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāna, put to death the lord of Hosala who was probably the Hoysala Yādava Narasimha, the father of Vira Ballāja³. The commander of his elephants was Jahla, the brother of Mahidhara, and he is represented to have rendered Bhillama's power firm. He led a maddened elephant skilfully into the army of the Gurjara king, struck terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces

² Introduction to Jahlan's Sūl timuktavali, now brought to notice for the first time

तथानवेऽभूत्करिहन्तनाथो दादा मदादानमिदानमत ।
 यमेचलादिज्ञेष्यमप्सेन्य देव गतं संयति विकमेष ॥ ५ ॥
 चत्वारम्बय सात्त्वामनया नयगार्विन ।
 मना इद इर्ह गद्यदिक्षमश्रौविभूषिता ॥ ६ ॥
 चतुर्मुखमुग्नीद्वीर्जनिगमा इव ते यम ।
 ग्नासा महोधरो कृष्ण साम्भो गद्याधरमया ॥ ७ ॥
 उपायेति ते कानि चतुर्भिं सुप्रयोगिते ।
 ने (मे) सूगिक्षेपियामस्य रात्मा जाति मटीद्रतम् ॥ ८ ॥
 विष्वद्वयलजात्तरग्नि विमध्य भृजममर्देष य इत्याम् ।
 दीर्घियमद्या स न रम्य महोधर मृश ॥ ९ ॥

The full introduction will be published elsewhere.

³ Appendix C I, stanza 16. 'Mallika' is a name of a Pandharpur. It is probably the capital of a number of

of Mallugi, and put an end to the victorious career of Muñja and Anna ⁴ When in this manner Bhillama made himself master of the whole country to the north of the Kṛishnā, he founded the city of Devagiri⁵ and having got himself crowned, made that city his capital This took place about the Śaka year 1109

Bhillama then endeavoured to extend his territory farther southwards, but he was opposed by Vīra Ballāja, who, as we have seen, had been pushing his conquests northwards It was a contest for the possession of an empire and was consequently arduous and determined Several battles took place between the two rivals, and eventually a decisive engagement was fought at Lokkigundi, now Lakkundi, in the Dhārvāḍ District, in which Jaitrasimha, who is compared to "the right arm of Bhillama" and must have been his son, was defeated and Vīra Ballāja became sovereign of Kuntala The inscription in which this is recorded bears the date Śaka 1114 or A D 1192,⁶ and Vīra Ballāja who made the grant recorded in it was at that time encamped with his victorious army at Lokkigundi, from which

⁴ Intr Jahl Sukt —

विजित्य विज्ञाय याते सुरखोकं महीधरे ।
 निमाय भिलमं लङ्घी राजतो चयवर्जिताम् ॥ ११ ॥
 गूर्जरभूष्टकटके कगट्कविषमेऽतिदुर्गमे यैन ।
 भगदत्तकीर्तिभाजा दुष्टगत्तस्त्वया नीता ॥ १२ ॥
 महा पक्षयितोऽस्मैतिरभितस्त्वस्यहलो मैत्युगि-
 र्मुञ्च पिष्ठितविक्रमस्त्रिभुवनन्नद्वा किल ब्राह्मण ।
 अन्नो मुन्नपराक्रमो विधुतमूर्मूरणप्राङ्गणे
 यैनाकारि सुरारिविक्रमभृता किं कि न तस्योर्जितम् ॥ १३ ॥

The Mallugi mentioned here must have been one of the enemies of Bhillama He probably belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family

⁵ Appendix C I, st 39

⁶ Ind Ant, Vol II, p 300

Section XV

Foundation of Devagiri

Contests between the rivals

Section XV it would appear that the battle had taken place but a short time before. The northern Vâdavas had to put off the conquest of Kuntala or the Southern Marâthâ Country for a generation

Jaitrapâla

Bhillama was succeeded in 1113 Saka by his son Jaitrapâla or Jaitugi. He took an active part in his father's battles. "He assumed [107] the sacrificial vow on the holy ground of the battle-field and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of the ladies of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Tailangas, and vanquished the three worlds"⁷ This same fact is alluded to in the Paishan grant, in which Jaitugi is represented to have killed the king of the Trikalingas in battle. He is there spoken of also as having released Ganapati from prison and to have placed him on the throne.⁸ The Rudra therefore whom he is thus represented to have killed on the field of battle must have been the Rudradeva of the Kâkatiya dynasty whose inscription we have at Anamkond near Worangal, and the Ganpati, his nephew⁹ who was probably placed in confinement by Rudradeva. In other places also his war with the king of the Andhras or Tailangas and his having

⁷ Appendix C I, st 43. Just as the fruit of a horse sacrifice is the conquest of the whole world, the fruit of a man sacrifice is supposed here to be the conquest of the three worlds. Jaitrapâla performed metaphorically such a sacrifice, and that is considered to be the reason, as it is of his having obtained victories everywhere, i.e. in the most hyperbolic language, of his having succeeded in vanquishing the three worlds.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 316

⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 197

raised Ganapati to the throne are alluded¹⁰ to, and he is represented to have deprived the Andhra ladies of the happiness arising from having their husbands living¹¹ Lakshmidhara, the son of the celebrated mathematician and astronomer Bhāskarācharya, was in the service of Jaītrapāla and was placed by him at the head of all learned Paṇḍits. He knew the Vedas and was versed in the Tarkasāstra and Mīmāṃsā¹²

Jaītrapāla's son and successor was Singhāṇa, Singhāna under whom the power and territory of the family greatly increased. He ascended the throne in 1132 Śaka¹³ He defeated a king of the name of Jajjalla and brought away his elephants. He deprived a monarch named Kakkūla of his sovereignty, destroyed Arjuna who was probably the sovereign of Mālvā, and made Bhoja a prisoner. Janārdana, the son of Gangādhara, who was Jahla's brother, is said to have taught Singhāna the art of managing elephants which enabled him to vanquish Arjuna¹⁴ He had succeeded to the office of commander of elephants held by Jahla and after him by Gangādhara. "King Laksh-[108] midhara, the lion of Bhambhāgiri, was reduced, the ruler of Dhārā was besieged by means of troops of horses, and the whole of the country in

¹⁰ Jour B B R A S, Vol XV, p 386, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, p 113

¹¹ Jour R A S, Vol I, N S, p 414

¹² Ib p 415

¹³ Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 5

¹⁴ Intr Jahl Sukt —

चासौद्वज्ञाधरक्षस्य चाता गङ्गाधरोपम ।

एकान्धवस्थ यो व्योलान्मुमीचिकान्यदृच्या ॥ १६ ॥

तस्याभवत्सुरमूनसस्त्री जनार्दनाद्व चरिवाहिनीश ।

समुद्रवद्यो भृवमं घमार सह शिया चिवभयेषमेतम् ॥ १८ ॥

सिहीद्वय्यापितक्षेन गणशिर्णा तदहुतम् ।

यजार्जुनं लसत्पवं समूलमूलयत् ॥ २० ॥

Section XV the possession of Bellala was taken. All this was but a child's play to King Singraha¹⁵. Jajalla must have been a prince belonging to the eastern branch of the Chedi dynasty that ruled over the province of Chhattisgarh, for that name occurs in the genealogy of that dynasty.¹⁶ The name Kallala I would identify with Ko'la which was borne by some princes of the western branch of the family, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevar. The kings of M'hal and K'la were killed by him in battle and Hirimira was vanquished by but a boy-general of Singraha.¹⁷ In an inscription also at Tijwali in the Dharid District, he is represented to have defeated Jajaladeva, conquered Bellala the Hoysala king, subdued Broga of Pancha¹⁸, and humbled the son of Milava.¹⁹ He is also spoken of as "the goad of the elephant in the shape of the Girjara king."²⁰ We have an inscription of his at Gaddaka dated 1135 Saka, which shows that Vira Bellala must have been deprived of the southern part of the country before that time.²¹ Singraha is represented as reigning at his capital Devagiri.²²

The Bhoja of Pithora seen on above was a prince of the Siliura dynasty, and after his defeat the Koishipur kingdom appears to have been annexed by the Yadavas to their dominions. They put an end to this branch of the family as far as they could

¹⁵ Appendix C I, st. 43 and 44. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 336.

¹⁶ General Cunningham's Arch. Reports, Vol. XVII, pp. 72, 73 and 74.

¹⁷ Joz R & S, Vol. I, N S p. 42.

¹⁸ Joz R B B R & S, Vol. IX, p. 226.

¹⁹ Major Graham's Report on Kolhapur Ins. No. 12.

²⁰ Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 227.

²¹ Major Graham's Report Ins., No. 12.

to another which ruled over Northern Konkan Section XV
 From this time forward the Kolhâpur inscriptions
 contain the names of the Yâdava princes with those
 of the governors appointed by them to rule over the
 district An inscription of Singhana at Khedrâpur
 in that district records the grant of a village to the
 temple of Koppesvara in the year 1136 Saka

Singhana seems to have invaded Gujarât several times Singhana's invasions of Gujarât In an inscription at Âmbem a Brâhman chief of the name of Kholesvâra of the Mudgala Gotra is spoken of as a very brave general in the service of the Yâdava sovereign He humbled the pride of the Gûrjara prince, crushed the Mâlava, destroyed the race of the king of the Âbhîras, and being like "wild fire to the enemies" of his master, left nothing for Singhana to be anxious about His son Râma succeeded him, and a large expedition under his command was again sent to Gujarât Râma advanced up to the Narmadâ, where a battle was fought, in which he slew numbers of Gûrjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life ²² From this it would appear that Gujarât was invaded by Singhana on two occasions at least, if not more, and this is borne out by what we find stated in the authorities [109] for the history of Gujarât Somadeva, the author of the Kirttikaumudi, which gives an account of the minister Vastupâla and his masters the princes of the Vâghelâ branch of the Châlukya family, describes an invasion of Gujarât by Singhana in the time of Lavaṇaprasâda and his son Viradhvâlava "The capital of Gujarât trembled with fear when the advance of Singhana's army was reported Being afraid of this foreign invasion no one among the subjects of the Gûrjara king began the construction of a new house or stored grain, and the minds of all

First Invasion.

Section XV

tion, [110] therefore, was that Lavaṇaprasāda had to submit and conclude a treaty of alliance with Singhāṇa

Second Invasion

This invasion of Gujarāt must have been one of the earlier ones alluded to in the Āmbem inscription, and Kholeśvara himself must have been the commander of the Yādava army on the occasion. For Lavaṇaprasāda is said to have declared himself independent of his original master Bhīma II of Anahilapattana about the year 1276 Vikrama,²⁷ corresponding to 1141 Śaka, which was about the ninth or tenth year of Singhāṇa's reign, and the work in which the treaty mentioned above occurs was composed in 1288 Vikrama, i.e. 1153 Śaka. But the expedition under the command of Rāma, the son of Kholesvara, must have been sent a short time before

"On this day the 15th Sudi of Vaiśākha, in the year Samvat 1288, in the Camp of Victory, [a treaty] between the paramount King of kings, the prosperous Simhaṇa and the Mahāmanḍalesvara Rāṇaka, the prosperous Lāvanyaprasāda Simhaṇa whose patrimony is paramount sovereignty, and the Mahāmanḍalesvara Rāṇa the prosperous Lāvanyaprasāda should according to former usage confine themselves, each to his own country, neither should invade the country of the other."

The treaty then provides that when either of them is taken up by an enemy, the armies of both should march to his release, that if a prince from either country ran away into the other with some valuable things, he should not be allowed quarter, &c. Now, it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduce these persons in his form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them. Simhaṇa is but another form of Singhāṇa, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign. The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the "victorious camp," which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Someśvara.

In रहणीय we have, I think, the vernacular root रह "to remain," "to live." For further details see my Report on the search for manuscripts during 1882-83, pp. 39 and 225.

Saka 1160, the date of the Ambem inscription. For Section XV Râma's son is represented to have been a minor under the guardianship of that chief's sister Lakshmi, who governed the principality in the name of the boy Râma, therefore, had not died so many years before Saka 1160 as to allow of his boy having attained his majority by that time. On the occasion of this expedition Visaladeva, the son of Viradhiavala, was the sovereign of Gujarat. For in an inscription of his he boasts [111] of his having been "the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Singhana's army,"²³ and he must have succeeded his father about the year 1292 Vikrama corresponding to Saka 1157,²⁴ though he obtained possession of the throne at Anahilapattana in Vikrama 1302, corresponding to Saka 1167 and 1246 A.D. The foundation of his boast was probably the fact of Râma's having been killed in the battle. What the ultimate result was, however, the inscription does not inform us.

Singhana appointed one Bîchaṇa or Bîcha, the Conquests son of Chikka and younger brother of Malla, to be ^{in the} South governor of the southern provinces and his viceroy there. He fought with his master's enemies in the south as Kholeśvara did in the north and kept them in check. Bîchaṇa is represented to have humbled the Raṭṭas who were petty feudatories in the Southern Marâthâ Country, the Kadambas of Konkan, i.e. of Goa, the Guttas sprung from the ancient Guptas, who held a principality in the south, the Pâṇḍyas, the Hoysâlas, and the chiefs of other southern provinces, and to have erected a triumphal

²³ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI pp. 191 and 212.

²⁴ Viradhiavala, it is said, died not long before Vastupâla. The death of the latter took place in Vikrama 1297. Vastupâla was minister to Visaladeva also for some time. We might, therefore, refer the accession of the latter to Vikrama 1292. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 190.

Section XV

column on the banks of the Kâverî³⁰ The date of the grant in which all this is recorded is Śaka 1160 or A D 1238

Singhâna's titles

It thus appears that the Yâdava empire became in the time of Singhâna as extensive as that ruled over by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties. The full title of a paramount sovereign are given to Singhâna in his inscriptions, such as "the support of the whole world," "the lover of the earth (*Pṛithvivallabha*)," and "king of kings." Since Kṛishṇa, the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu, is represented in the Purânas to have belonged to the Yâdava family, the princes of Devagiri called themselves *Viṣhnuvamśodbhava*,³¹ and as Kṛishṇa and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvârakâ, they assumed the title of *Dvâravatîpuravarâdhîśvara*, "the supreme lord of Dvâravatî, the best of cities."³² In the reign of Singhâna as well as of his two predecessors the office of chief secretary or *Śrîkaranâdhîpa*, which in a subsequent reign was conferred on Hemâdri, was held by a man of the name of Soḍhala. He was the son of Bhâskara, a native of Kaśmîr who had settled in the Dekkan. Soḍhala's son Sarugadhara wrote in this reign a treatise on music entitled *Samgitaratnâkara* which is extant.³³ There is a com-

³⁰ *Jour B B R A S*, Vol XV, pp 386-7, and Vol XII, p 43

³¹ i.e. "of the race of Viṣṇu"

³² *Graham's Report, Ins No 10*, and *Jour B B R A S*, Vol XII, p 7

³³ तथा भूतनय प्रसूतविनय श्रीसोङ्गल प्रौद्योग्येन श्रीकरणप्रदद्विमर्थ भूवहर्म सिलमस् । आराध्याद्विलभ्योकशीकगमनो कीर्ति समापादिता तैये जीवपद न्यधायि सहस्री श्रीसिंहये श्रीरपि ॥ Then follows one verse in praise of Singhâna, and two in praise of Soḍhala in which he is represented to have pleased Singhâna by his merits and to have conferred benefits on all through the wealth and influence thus acquired, and then we have

mentary [112] on this work attributed to a king of the name of Singa who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Andhra circle. This Singa appears in all likelihood to be Singhāṇa, and the commentary was either written by him or dedicated to him by a dependent, as is often the case.³⁴ Chāngadeva, the grandson of Bhāskarāchārya and son of Lakshmi-dhara, was chief astrologer to Singhāṇa, and also Anantadeva, the grandson of Bhāskarāchārya's brother Śripati and son of Ganapati. Chāngadeva founded a Maṭha or college for the study of his grandfather's Siddhāntasiromani and other works at Pāṭnā in the Chālisgāmī division of the Khāndes district, and Anantadeva built a temple at a village in the same division and dedicated it to Bhavāṇī on the 1st of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1144 *expired*.³⁵

Singhāṇa's son was Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla, who Jaitrapāla, "was the abode of all arts, and was thus the very moon in opposition, full of all the digits, that had come down to the earth, to protect it. He was death to hostile kings and firm in unequal fights."³⁶ But if he protected the earth at all he must have done so during the lifetime of his father as *Yuvarāja*, for the latest date of Singhāṇa is Śaka 1169, and in a copper-plate inscription of his grandson and Jaitugi's son Krishna, Śaka 1175, *Pramādi-Samivatsara*, is stated to be the seventh of his reign, so that Krishna began

तथा दुर्गानुचेन्नात् शास्त्रदेव सुधाकर । उपर्युपरि सर्वान्व सदोदार
स्फुरत्कर ॥ Introduction to *Samgītaratnākara*, No 979,
Collection of 1887-91, Dell Coll इति श्रीमद्दनविनीदश्चीकर-
णाधिपतिश्चौसोटसमन्वयनि शद्यशीशास्त्रदेवविरचिते संगीतरवाकरे प्रकौण-
काच्चायस्त्रृतय समाप्त fol 122a

³⁴ My Report on MSS for 1882-83, pp 37, 38 and 222

³⁵ Jour R A S, Vol I, N S, p 415, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, p 113

³⁶ Appendix C II, st 7

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to reign in Saka 1169 corresponding to 1247 A.D.³⁷ And in the longer of the two historical introductions to the Vratakhandā, Jaitugi is not mentioned at all. After Singhana, we are told that his grandsons Kṛishna and Mahadeva came to the throne, of whom the elder Kṛishna reigned first.³⁸ Kṛishna's Prākṛit name was Kanhāra, Kanhara, or Kandhāra. He is represented to have been the terror of the kings of Mālava, Gujarat, and Konkan, to have "established the king of Telunga," and to have been the sovereign of the country of the Chola king.³⁹ In the Vratakhandā also he is said to have destroyed the army of Vīsala, who we know was sovereign of Gujarat at this time and who had been at war with Singhana, and, in general terms, to have "conquered a great many enemies in bloody battles in which numbers of horses and elephants were engaged, reduced some to captivity and compelled others to seek refuge in forests, and, having thus finished the work of vanquishing the series of earthly kings, to have marched to the heavenly world to conquer Indra."⁴⁰ Laksh-[113] mideva, son of Janārdana, is represented by his wise counsels to have helped Kṛishna to consolidate his power and to have by his sword subdued his enemies.⁴¹ Kṛishṇa performed a great many sacrifices

³⁷ Jour B B R A S, Vol XII, p 42

³⁸ Appendix C I, st 45

³⁹ Jour B B R A S, Vol XII, p 38

⁴⁰ That is, "left this world," "died," Appendix C II, st 11

⁴¹ Intr Jahl Sukt —

विश्वधाणपरायणः म्भुरदुक्षमर्णाचिंशार्थिग्नज-
स्ताणाद्दुराविक्रमः समायक्षीलयिदिवः सुधोः ।

मर्येभिर्भिर्तादेवमन्तिधिपूर्णीर्यथयमकम्भे

राव्यं छत्तमष्टीपतेरविकामं दत्ता विष्वं योऽव्यधात् ॥ २१ ॥

अगम्ता एष यस्यासिर्विशिर्विग्रहमभी ।

चिक्षं स्त्रीप्रकरोमृत्युर्क्षयम्भसमर्थयग् ॥ २२ ॥

and thus "brought fresh strength to the Vedic ceremonial religion which in the course of time had lost its hold over the people" In a copper-plate grant dated Saka 1171, found in the Belgaum Tâluka, Malla or Malliseṭṭi is spoken of as the elder brother of Bîcha or Bichana, the viceroy of Singhana in the south, and was himself governor of the province of Kuhund He lived at Mudugala, probably the modern Mudgala, and gave, by the consent of Kîshna, his sovereign, lands in the village of Bûgevâḍi to thirty-two Brâhmans of different Gotras ⁴² Among the family names of these it is interesting to observe some borne by modern Mahârâshtra Brâhmans, such as *Paṭavardhana* and *Ghaisâsa*, prevalent among Chitpâvanas, and *Ghalisâsa*, *Ghalisa*, and *Pâṭhaka*, among Desasthas The name *Tîrâdi* also occurs, but there is no trace of it among Marâṭhâ Brâhmans, while it is borne by Brâhmans in Gujarat and Upper Hindustan In another grant, Chaunda the son of Bîchapa, who succeeded to the office and title of his father, is represented to have personally solicited king Kîshna at Devagiri to permit him to grant the village mentioned therein ⁴³ Jahlaṇa, son of Lakshmîdeva who had succeeded his father, assisted Kîshna diligently by his counsels in conjunction with his younger brother He was commander of the troops of elephants and as such fought with Krishna's enemies He compiled an anthology of select verses from Sanskrit poets, called Sûktimuktâvali, which is

⁴² Jour B B R A S, Vol XIII, p 27 Ind Ant, Vol VII, 304 Kuhund corresponds to a part of the modern Belgaum district

⁴³ Jour B B R A S, Vol XII, p 43

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extant⁴⁴ The Vedāntakalpataru, which is a commentary on Vāchaspatīmīśra's Bhāmatī [114] which itself is a commentary on Śamkarāchārya's Vedāntasūtrabhāshya, was written by Amalānanda in the reign of Kṛishṇa⁴⁵

Mahādeva

Kṛishṇa was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva in 1182 Saka or 1260 A.D. "He was a tempestuous wind that blew away the heap of cotton in the shape of the king of the Tailaṅga country, the prowess of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gūrjara, he destroyed the king of Konkan with ease, and reduced the arrogant sovereigns of Karnātaka and Lāṭa to mockery"⁴⁶ The Gūrjara here mentioned must be Visaladeva noticed above, as Mahādeva is represented in the Pañṭhaṇ grant to have vanquished him,⁴⁷ and the king of Karnātaka was probably a Hoysala Yādava of Halebid. "King Mahādeva never killed a woman, a child, or one who submitted to him, knowing this and being greatly afraid of him, the Andhras placed a woman on the throne,

⁴⁴ Intr. Jahl. Sukt. —

सस्यास्ते तनयो नयोदधिविधुर्भुवुधाना सुधौः
 सोरासारविचारणासु चतुर, श्रीजङ्गणाल्य चितौ ॥ २६ ॥
 मतिप्राद इतमरमै प्रतिइत्यत्यवहे षि सर्गोपसर्गं
 रोन्यं प्रान्यप्रभावप्रथितगुणभृता क्षाराजाय भक्त्या ।
 तद्विरोधं भयेति हिगुणितधिषणाशक्तिभक्तिविभक्ते
 सर्वं यस्यात्ति इत्याज्ञे मदान्वा करिष्याहिनी ॥ २७ ॥
 भ्रुवं यस्यात्ति इत्याज्ञे मदान्वा करिष्याहिनी ।
 दानोदकप्रवाहीत्वं दृश्यते कथमन्यथा ॥ २८ ॥
 तनेऽयं क्रियते वीक्ष्य सत्सुभाषितसप्तहान् ।
 सुतिसुक्तावलीकण्ठकन्दलौभूषणं सताम् ॥ २९ ॥

⁴⁵ Transactions Ninth Congress of Orientalists, Vol. I,
 p. 423

⁴⁶ Appendix C I, st. 48, and II, st. 13

⁴⁷ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 316

and the King of Mihira also for the same reason Section XV
 is called a child in his position, and forthwith
 for some time till his penitence practised false penance
 for a long time. He took part in battle the
 elephant and the five musical instruments of the
 ruler of Triveni in his left, the ruler Rudrami is
 represented as killing a woman⁴³. In a work on
 Poetics called Pratipindika by Vidyavishnu there
 occurs a specimen of a dramatic play in which
 Gomukha of the Kshatriya dynasty, the same prince
 who is represented in the Purusha grant to have been
 rejected from a co-ruler by Jativer, is mentioned
 as having left the throne to his daughter, whom,
 however, he called his son and named Rudra, and
 who is spoken of as "a King" and not queen. She
 adopted Pratipindika the son of her daughter, as
 her heir. This, the case, was the woman spoken
 of above as Rudrami and as having been placed on
 the throne by the Andhras⁴⁴. "Soma, the lord of
 Konkan, though skilled in swimming in the sea, was
 to enter with his forces drowned in the rivers formed Conquest of
 by the hitherto trifling from the temples of Northern
 Mahadeva's maddened elephants"⁴⁵. "Mahadeva
 deprived Somavira of his kingdom and his life⁴⁶.
 We have seen that Kshemra fought with the King of
 Konkan, but it appears he did not subjugate the
 country thoroughly. His successor Mahadeva, how
 ever, again invaded it with an army consisting of a
 large number of elephants [115] Soma or

⁴³ Appendix C I, st 52, and II, st 13 and 15

⁴⁴ एवमेतत् । अद्या कथमोशरप्रसादाट्टे निरुद्धं शोव्यक्षि-
 विशेषम् भोक्तापिष्ठवम् । एवं मातृप्रभापूता गणपतिसदाराजेमाभ्यन्तर-
 सामुभावम् मुद्गमत् परा इति अवादारं कृतसद्गुणा च यद् इत्योच्या ।
 Poona litho, raphed edition of 1771, fol 29. See also
 Dr Hultzsch's paper, Ind Ant., Vol XXI, pp 196, 199

⁴⁵ Appendix C I, st 49, 50, and II, st 17

Section XV Someśvara was completely defeated on land and his power broken, whereupon he appears to have betaken himself to his ships. There somehow he met with his death,⁵¹ probably by being drowned, for it is said that "even the sea did not protect him" and that "he betook himself to the submarine fire," thinking the fire of Mahâdeva's prowess to be more unbearable.⁵² Konkan was thereupon annexed to the territories of the Vâdavas. Hence it is that the country was governed by a viceroy appointed by the Devagiri king during the time of Mahâdeva's successor, as we find from the Thânâ plates published by Mr Wathen.⁵³ The Somesvara whom Mahâdeva subdued belonged to the Silâhâra dynasty of Thânâ that had been ruling over that part of Konkan for a considerable period. He is the last prince of the dynasty whose inscriptions are found in the district, and his dates are Saka 1171 and 1182.⁵⁴ Mahâdeva like his predecessors reigned at Devagiri, which is represented as the capital of the dynasty to which he belonged and as situated in the country called Seuna on the borders of Dandakâranya. "It was the abode of the essence of the beauty of the three worlds and its houses rivalled the peaks of the mountain tenanted by gods, and the Seuna country deserved all the sweet and ornamental epithets that might be applied to it."⁵⁵ At Pandharpur there is an inscription dated 1192 Saka, *Pramoda Samrat-sara*, in which Mahâdeva is represented to have

⁵¹ Appendix C I, st. 49

⁵² *Ib* I, st. 51, and II, st. 18

⁵³ *Jour R A S* (old series), Vol. V, p. 177

⁵⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII, Part II, p. 122

⁵⁵ Appendix C II, st. 19 and 20. "The mountain tenanted by gods" may be the Humâliha or Yeru. In this epithet there is a reference to the etymology of Devagiri which means "a mountain of or having gods."

been reigning at the time He is there called *Praudhapratâpa Chakravartin*, or "Paramount sovereign possessing great valour" The inscription records the performance of an *Aptoryâma* sacrifice by a Brâhman chief of the name of Kesava belonging to the Kasyapa Gotra

The immediate successor of Mahâdeva was ^{Râma-}
 chandra or ^{Râma-}
 chandra or ^{Râma-}
 Râma Deva ⁵⁶ who appears to have been his son, but the sovereign power was soon wrested from his hands by the rightful heir Râmachandra, son of Kriśhn, who ascended the throne in 1193 Saka or 1271 A D He is called Râmadeva or Râmarâja also In the Thânâ copper-plate grants he is spoken of as "a lion to the proud elephant in the shape of the lord of Mâlava," from which it would appear that he was at war with that country He is also called "the elephant that tore up by the root the tree in the shape of the Tailanga king" This must be an allusion to his wars with Pratâparudra the successor of Rudramâ, which are mentioned in the work noticed above Several other epithets occur in the grants, but they are given as mere *birudas* or titles which were inherited by Râmachandra from his predecessors, and do not point to any specific events in his reign His inscriptions are found as far to the south as the confines of Maisur, so that the empire [116] he ruled over was as large as it ever was There is in the Dekkan College Library a manuscript of the *Amarakosa* written in Konkan on Tâla leaves during his reign in the year 4398 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to Saka 1219 and A D 1297 His viceroy in Konkan in Saka 1212 was a Brâhmaṇa named Kriśna belonging to the Bharadvâja Gotra, whose grandfather Padmanâbha first acquired royal

Section XV favour and rose into importance in the reign of Singhana. One of the Thānā grants was issued by him, and the other dated 1194 Saka by Achyuta Nāyaka, who was also a Brāhmaṇa and who appears to have been a petty chief and held some office which is not stated. Where he resided is also not clear. By the Pañthan copper-plate charter, which was issued in Saka 1193, Rāmachandra assigned three villages to fifty-seven Brāhmaṇas on conditions some of which are rather interesting. The Brāhmaṇas and their descendants were to live in those villages, not to mortgage the land, allow no prostitutes to settle there, prevent gambling, use no weapons, and spend their time in doing good deeds.⁵⁷

Hemādri,
the minister
of Mahā-
deva and
Rāmadeva

Hemādri, the celebrated author, principally of works on Dharmasāstra, flourished during the reigns of Mahādeva and Rāmachandra and was minister to both. In the introduction to his works on Dharmasāstra he is called Mahādeva's Śrīkaranddhūpa or Śrīkarana-prabhu. In the Thānā copper-plate of 1194 Saka also, he is said to have taken upon himself the *Adhipatiya* or controllership of all *karana*. This office seems to have been that of chief secretary or one who wrote and issued all orders on behalf of his master and kept the state record. Hemādri is also called *Mantri* or counsellor generally. In his other works and in the Thānā plate Rāmarāja instead of Mahādeva is represented as his master. Mahādeva's genealogy and his own are given at the beginning of his works on Dharma. Sometimes the former begins with Singhana, sometimes with Bhillama, while in the Dānakhanḍa the exploits of Mahādeva alone are enumerated. The description of the several princes is often couched in general

terms and consists of nothing but eulogy. But the Section XV Vratakhaṇḍa, which was the first work composed by Hemādri, contains, as we have seen, a very valuable account of the dynasty from the very beginning, and by far the greater portion of it is undoubtedly historical

Hemādri was a Brahman of the Vatsa Gotra Hemādri's Works His father's name was Kāmadeva, grandfather's, Vāsudeva, and great-grandfather's, Vāmana⁵⁸ He is described in terms of extravagant praise, and the historical truth that may be gleaned from it appears to be this. Hemādri was very liberal to Brāhmans and fed numbers of them every day. He was a man of learning himself, and learned men found a generous patron in him. He is represented to be religious and pious, and at the same time very brave. He evidently possessed a great deal of influence. Whether the voluminous works attributed to him were really written by him may well be questioned, but the [117] idea at least of reducing the religious practices and observances that had descended from times immemorial to a system must certainly have been his, and must have been carried out under his supervision

His great work is called the *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi* which is divided into four parts, viz., (1) *Vratakhaṇḍa*, containing an exposition of the religious fasts and observances, (2) *Dānakhaṇḍa*, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached are explained, (3) *Tīrthakhaṇḍa* which treats of pilgrimages to holy places, and (4) *Mokshakhaṇḍa*, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth. There is a fifth *Khanda* or part which is called *Parīsheshakhaṇḍa* or appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities

⁵⁸ *Parīsheshakhaṇḍa*, Ed Bib Ind, pp 4-5

Section XV that should be worshipped, (2) on *Śraddhas* or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rites, and (4) on *Prāyaśchitta* or atonement. All these works are replete with a great deal of information and innumerable quotations. They are held in great estimation, and future writers on the same subjects draw largely from them. A commentary called *Ayurvedarasāyana* on a medical treatise by Vāgbhaṭa and another on Bopadeva's *Muktāḍhala*, a work expounding Vaishnava doctrines, are also attributed to him.

Other works

Bopadeva This Bopadeva was one of Hemādri's protegees and the author of the work mentioned above and another entitled *Harililā*, which contains an abstract of the *Bhāgavata*. Both of these were written at the request of Hemādri as the author himself tells us.⁵⁹ Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Kesava and the pupil of Dhaneśa. His father as well as a teacher lived at a place called Sārtha situated on the banks of the Varadā. Bopadeva, therefore, was a native of Berār. Bopadeva, the author of a treatise on grammar called *Mugdhabodha*, appears to be the same person as this, since the names of the father and the teacher there mentioned are the same as those we find in these works. A few medical treatises also, written by Bopadeva, have come down to us.

Hemādpant of the Marāṭhās Hemādri has not yet been forgotten in the Marāṭhā country. He is popularly known by the name of Hemādpant and old temples throughout the

59 विद्वनेश्चिष्टेण भिपक्षेश्वस्तुमा । इमाद्विर्विपद्वेन मुक्ताफलमचीकरत् ॥
श्रीमद्भागवतस्त्वाध्यार्थादि निष्ठयते । षिद्वा वोपदेवेन मन्त्रिइमाद्विष्टये ॥
Dr. Rājendralāl's notices of Skr MSS., Vol. II., pp. 48 and 200.

country of a certain structure are attributed to him Section XV
 He is said to have introduced the moḍī or the
 current form of writing and is believed to have
 brought it from Lankā or Ceylon. As chief secre-
 tary he had to superintend the writing of official
 papers and records, and it is possible he may have
 introduced some improvements in the mode of
 writing

The great Marāṭhā *sādhu* or saint Jñāneśvara or Jñāneśvara,
 Dnyāneśvara as his name is ordinarily pronounced, the Marāṭhā
sādhu
 flourished during the reign of [118] Rāmachandra
 At the end of his Marāṭhi commentary on the Bhaga-
 vadgītā he tells us "In the Kali age, in the country
 of Mahārāshṭra and on the southern bank of the
 Godāvarī, there is a sacred place five *kos* in circuit,
 the holiest in the three worlds, where exists Mahā-
 layā, who is the thread that sustains the life of the
 world. There, king Rāmachandra, a scion of the
 Yadu race and the abode of all arts, dispenses
 justice, and there a vernacular garb was prepared for
 the Gītā by Jñānadeva, the son of Nivṛittinātha,
 sprung from the family of Maheśa"⁶⁰ The date
 of the completion of the work is given as Śaka 1212
 or A.D. 1290, when we know Rāmachandra was on
 the throne

Rāmachandra was the last of the independent Hindu sovereigns of the Dekkan. The Mussalmans

Conquest of
 the country
 by the
 Mussal-
 mans

60 ऐसे युगीं परि कर्त्तौं । आयि महाराष्ट्रमंडलौं ।

श्रीगोदावरीच्चा कूर्त्तौं । दद्विष्टौं ॥ १ ॥

विमुक्तने कपविद । चनादि पंचकोशविद ।

जिथ जगाचे जीवनसूक्त । श्रीमहालया असे ॥ २ ॥

तेथ यदुवंशविलास । ओ सकलकालामिलास ।

न्यायाते पोषी चित्तोश । श्रीरामर्घद ॥ ३ ॥

तेथ महेशान्वयसंमृते । श्रीनिवृत्तिनाथसुते ।

किले ज्ञानदेवे गोते । देशीकार लिये ॥ ४ ॥

Section XV had been firmly established at Delhi for about a century, and though they had not yet turned their attention to the Dekkan it was not possible they should refrain from doing so for a long time Alla-ud-din Khiliji, the nephew of the reigning king, who had been appointed governor of Karra, was a person of a bold and adventurous spirit In the year 1294 A D or Saka 1216 he collected a small army of 8000 men and marched straight to the south till he reached Ellichpur, and then suddenly turning to the west appeared in a short time before Devagiri The king never expected such an attack and was consequently unprepared to resist it According to one account he was even absent from his capital He hastily collected about 4000 troops, and threw himself between the city and invading army But being aware he could not hold out for a long time, he took measures for provisioning the fort and retired into it The city was then taken by the Mahomedans and plundered, and the fort was closely invested Alla-ud-din had taken care to spread a report that his troops were but the advanced guard of the army of the king which was on its way to the Dekkan Râmachandra, therefore, despairing of a successful resistance, began to treat for peace Alla-ud-din, who was conscious of his own weakness, received his proposals with gladness and agreed to raise the siege and retire on condition of receiving from the king a large quantity of gold In the meantime, Râmachandra's son Samkara collected a large army and was marching to the relief of the fort, when Alla-ud-din left about a thousand men to continue the siege and proceeded [119] with the rest to a short distance from the town and gave battle to Samkara's forces The Hindus were numerically superior and forced the Mahomedans to fall back ,

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but the detachment left to observe the movements of the garrison joined them at this time, and Samkara's followers thinking it to be the main army that was on its way from Delhi were seized with a panic, and a confusion ensued which resulted in the complete defeat of the Hindus

Rāmachandra or Rāmadeva then continued the negotiations, but Alla-ud-din raised his demands The Hindu king's allies were preparing to march to his assistance, but in the meanwhile Rāmachandra discovered that the sacks of grain that had been hastily thrown into the fort really contained salt, and since the provisions had been well nigh exhausted he was anxious to hasten the conclusion of peace It was therefore agreed that he should pay to Alla-ud-din "600 maunds of pearls, two of jewels, 1000 of silver, 4000 pieces of silk, and other precious things," cede Ellichpur and its dependencies, and send an annual tribute to Delhi On the receipt of the valuable treasure given to him by the Devagiri prince Alla-ud-din retired

Some time after, Alla-ud-din assassinated his aged uncle and usurped the throne King Rāmachandra did not send the tribute for several years, and to punish him the Delhi monarch despatched an expedition of 30,000 horse under the command of Malik Kafur, a slave who had risen high in his favour Malik Kafur accomplished the long and difficult march "over stones and hills without drawing rein," and arrived at Devagiri in March 1307 A.D., or about end of Saka 1228 A fight ensued in which the Hindus were defeated and Rāmadeva was taken prisoner ⁶¹ According to another account, Malik

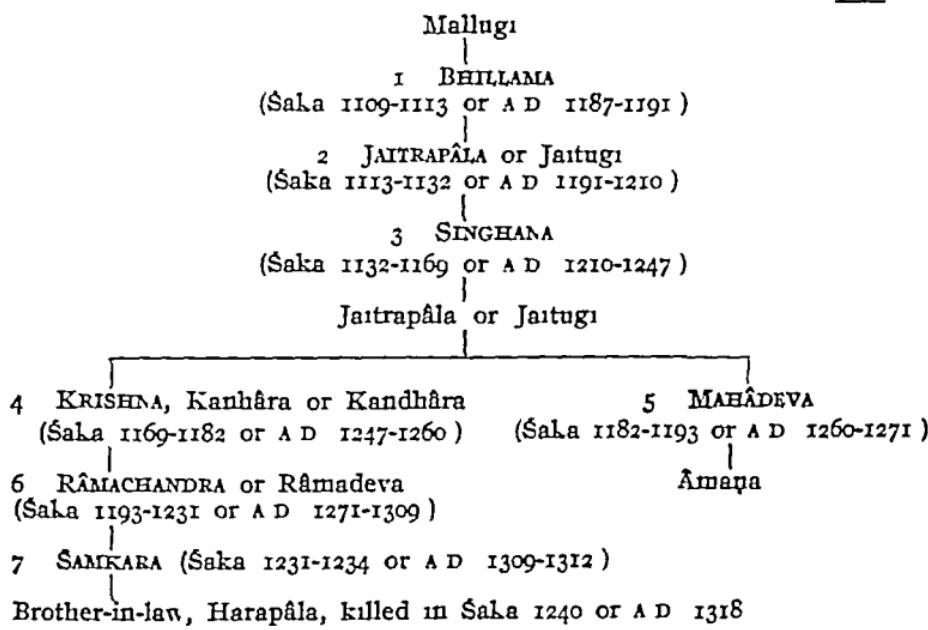
⁶¹ Elliot's History of India, Vol III, p 77

Section XV Kafur came laying waste the country about Devagiri, and the Hindu king observing the futility of resistance surrendered himself. Rāmachandra was sent to Delhi, where he was detained for six months and afterwards released with all honour. Thenceforward he sent the tribute regularly and remained faithful to the Mahomedans. In Saka 1231 or A.D. 1309, Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan to subdue Tailangaṇa. On the way he stopped at Devagiri, where he was hospitably entertained by the king.

Rāmadeva died this year and was succeeded by his son Samkara. He discontinued sending the annual tribute to Delhi and Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan in Saka 1234 or A.D. 1312 to reduce him to submission. He put Samkara to death, laid waste his kingdom, and fixed his residence at Devagiri.

In the latter years of Alla-ud-din his nobles, disgusted with the overwhelming influence which Malik Kafur had acquired over him, revolted. In the meantime Alla-ud-din died and was succeeded by his third son Mubarik. The opportunity was seized [120] by Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāmachandra, who raised an insurrection and drove away some of the Mahomedan governors. In 1240 Saka or A.D. 1318 Mubarik marched to the Dekkan in person to suppress the revolt. He took Harapāla prisoner and inhumanly flayed him alive.

Thus ended the last Hindu or Marāthā monarchy of the Dekkan, and the country became a province of the Mahomedan empire.

Genealogy of the later Yādavas or the Yādavas of Devagiri Section XV

[121] SECTION XVI

THE SILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHĀPUR

Section XVI

Three branches of the Silāhāra family

Tagara, the original seat of the family

Three distinct families of chiefs or minor princes with the name of Silāra or Silāhāra ruled over different parts of the country. They all traced their origin to Jimūtavāhana the son of Jīmūtaketu, who was the king of a certain class of demigods called Vidyādhara, and who saved the life of a serpent named Sankhachūḍa by offering himself as a victim to Garuḍa in his place¹. One of the titles borne by the princes of all the three families was Tagarapura-varāḍhīśvara or "lords of Tagara, the best of cities," which fact has a historical significance. We have seen that Kāñvadeva, the donor of the Rājāpur grant who was a Chālukya, called himself Kalyāṇapura-varāḍhīśvara, and one of the titles of the later Kadambas after they had been reduced to vassalage and of the rulers of Goa was Banavāsi-pura-varāḍhīśvara. As these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power at Kalyāṇa and Banavāsi, so does Tagarapura-varāḍhīśvara show that the Silāhāras who bore the title belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara. In one Silāhāra grant it is expressly stated that "the race known by the name of Silāhāra was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara."² As mentioned in a former section, Tagara was a famous town in the early centuries of the Christian

¹ This story has been dramatized in the Sanskrit play Nāgānanda attributed to Śrī-Harsha

² Grant translated by Dr Taylor and published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol III
शिलाहारास्यक्षेयं तगरेश्वरमूम्हमाम् !

era and retained its importance till a very late period, Section XVI
 but unfortunately the town has not yet been identified, nor have we found any trace of the Silhâra
 Kingdom with Tarîra as its capital. Perhaps it
 existed between the close of the Andhrabhipûya
 period and the foundation of the Chîlukya power.

The three Silhâra dynasties of Mahâmudgâles
 were or dependent princes which we have been
 considering were founded in the times of the
 Rashîratîpas. One of them ruled over Northern ^{The North} Konkan
 Konkan, which was composed of fourteen hundred
 villages, the chief of them being Puri, which
 probably was at one time the capital of the province.
 As represented in an inscription at Kanhîra noticed
 before, Konkan was assigned to Pullasakti by
 Amoghavarsha a few years before 512 A.D.⁵ Another
 Silhâra family established itself in Southern Konkan ^{The South} Konkan
 The founder or first chief named Sanaphulla enjoys
 the favour of Kîshîrâja and acquired the territory
 between the sea coast and the Sahîva range.⁶ There
 were three Rashîratîpa princes of the name of
 Kîshîrâja but the one meant here must be the
 first prince of that name who reigned in the last
 quarter of the seventh century of the Sîka era
 [122] or between 753 and 775 A.D.⁷ The genealogy

⁵ Khîrepâîan plates, Jour B.B.R.A.S., Vol I, p 217
 The name of the first chief is read "Jhâllaphulla" by B.M. Gangadhara Sastri, but the first letter looks like **়** though there is some difference. That difference, however, brings it nearer to **়**. The letter which was read by him as **়** is clearly **়** or **়** as I find **়** on the plates.

⁶ From Sanaphulla the first chief to Râsî the last three
 are ten generations. Somehow each succeeding chief in
 this line happens to be the son of the preceding. Though
 in a line of princes some of whom bear to others the relation
 of brother or uncle, the average duration of each reign is

Section XVI of this dynasty is given in the Khārepāṭaṇ grant, the last prince mentioned in which was on the throne in Śaka 930 while the Chālukya king Satyāśraya was reigning. The capital must have been situated somewhere near Khārepāṭaṇ.

The
Kolhāpur
branch

The third Śilāhāra family the history of which falls within the scope of this paper ruled over the districts of Kolhāpur, Mīrāj, and Karhāḍ, and in later times Southern Konkan was added to its territory. This dynasty was the latest of the three and was founded about the time of the downfall of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire, as will be hereafter shown. The first prince of the family was Jatiga, who was succeeded by his son Nāyimma or Nāyivarman.

from 19 to 21 years, the average duration of a generation is always much longer, and varies from 26 to 28 years. One can verify this by taking any line of princes or chiefs in the world. Raṭṭa was on the throne in Śaka 930, and supposing him to have begun to reign about that time, nine generations or about 27×9 years must have passed away from the date of the foundation of the family to Śaka 930. Subtracting $27 \times 9 = 243$ from 930, we have Śaka 687 as the approximate date of Sanaphulla. If we take the average to be 26, we shall have 696 as the date. In either case we are brought to the reign of Kṛiṣṇa I. The dates of Kṛiṣṇa II range from Śaka 797 to 833 and of Kṛiṣṇa III from Śaka 862 to 881, and therefore neither of these will do. Even if we take the other average of a reign in the present case and subtract $19 \times 9 = 171$ from 930, we get Śaka 759, which will not take us to the reign of Kṛiṣṇa II whose earliest date is Śaka 797. The Khārepāṭaṇ family therefore was the oldest of the three, and was founded in the reign of Kṛiṣṇa I.

Bāl Śāstrī read the name of the last chief in the grant as Rahu, but the second syllable of the name is certainly not रु the form of which in the grant itself is different. It looks exactly like the रु in the word परमभारक and आष्टवानि which occur elsewhere in the grant.

Nâyimma was followed by his son Chandrarâja, and Section XVI Chandrarâja by his son Jatiga, who is called "the lion of the hill-fortress of Panhâlâ"⁶ Jatiga's son founder and successor was Gomka, otherwise called Gomkala or Gokalla He is represented to have been the ruler of the districts of Karahâta-Kuṇḍi⁶ and Mairiñja and to have harassed Konkan He had three brothers named Gûvala, Kîrtirâja, and Chandrâditya, of whom the first at least appears to have succeeded him Then followed Mârasimha the son of Gomka, whose grant first published by Wathen is dated Śaka 980 He is represented to have constructed temples, and to have been reigning at his capital, the fort of Khiḍigili, which probably was another name of Panhâlâ in the Kolhâpur districts Mârasimha was succeeded by his son Gûvala and he by his brother Bhoja I Bhoja's two brothers Ballâla and Gaṇḍarâditya governed the principality after him in succession

An inscription at Kolhâpur mentions another brother named Gangadeva and the order in which the brothers are spoken of is Gûvala [123] Ganga, Ballâla, Bhoja, and Gaṇḍarâditya⁷ But the grants of Gaṇḍarâditya and Bhoja II agree in representing Bhoja as the elder and Ballâla as the younger brother, and in omitting Gaṅga

Of all these brothers the youngest Gaṇḍarâditya Gaṇḍarâditya seems to have been the most famous He is the

⁶ See the grant of Gaṇḍarâditya published by Paṇḍit Bhagvânâlî Indraji in Jour B B R A S, Vol XIII, p 2, of Mârasimha in Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 280, and Arch Surv WI, No 10, p 102, and of Bhoja II in Trans Lit Soc Bom, Vol III

⁶ Mârasimha's grant Kuṇḍi or Kuhuṇḍi was some part of the Belgaum district, as stated before Mairiñja is Miraj

⁷ Inscription No 4, Major Graham's Report

Section XVI donor, as indicated above, in the grant published by Pañdit Bhagvānlāl Indraji,⁸ and in others recorded on stone at Kolhāpur and in the districts His dates are Śaka 1032, 1040, 1058⁹ He ruled over the country of Mirīñja along with the seven Khollas and over Konkan, which thus seems to have been subjugated by the Kolhāpur Śilāhāras before 1032 Probably it was added to their dominions in the time of Gomka or soon after From the grant of Bhoja II it appears that the part of Konkan ruled over by the Dekkan Śilāhāras was the same as that which was in the possession of the family mentioned in the Khārepāṭan grant,¹⁰ wherefore it follows that the Śilāhāras of southern Konkan were uprooted by their kinsmen of the Kolhāpur districts Gaṇḍarāditya fed a hundred thousand Brāhmans at Prayāga This must be the place of that name which is situated near Kolhāpur, and not the modern Allahābād He built a Jaina temple at Ājarem, a village in the Kolhāpur districts,¹¹ and constructed a large tank, called after him *Gandasamudra* or "the sea of Gaṇḍa," at Irukuḍi in the Miraj district, and on its margin placed idols of Iśvara or Śiva, Buddha, and Arhat (Jina), for the maintenance of each of which he assigned a piece of land Several other charities of his, in which the Jainas also had their share, are mentioned, and his bountiful nature as well as good

⁸ In loc. cit.

⁹ Bhagvānlāl's plates, and Inscriptions Nos 1, 2, and 3, Major Graham's Report The Śaka in Bhagvānlāl's grant and No 1 of Major Graham's inscriptions is the same, i.e. 1032, though in the translation of the latter it is erroneously given as 1037, but the cyclic years are different As to this see Appendix B

¹⁰ For the village granted is Kaśelī, which is near Jaitāpur and Khārepāṭan

¹¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 76, note

ard just government are extolled¹² He first resided Section XVI at a place called Tīrṇādī and afterwards at Valavāga, which has been identified with the present Valavdem¹³

Gāndharādītya was succeeded by his son Vijavārka Vijavāla, who was on the throne in Śaka 1065 and 1073¹⁴ He restored the chiefs of the territory about Thānī to their principality which they had lost, and replaced the princes of Goa on the throne and fortified their position which had become shaky¹⁵ He resisted Vijayā¹⁶ in his revolt against his masters, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, and enabled him to acquire supreme sovereignty This event, as we have seen, took place about 1079 Śaka

[124] After Vijayā¹⁷, his son Bhoja II Bhoja II became Mihimandhileśvara and reigned in the fort of Pānkhāḍī His dates are Śaka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, and 1127¹⁸ He granted the village of Kāsēṭī in Konkan near Khārepāṇi on the application of his son Gāndharādītya for feeding Brāhmaṇas regularly¹⁹ and gave lands for Hindu and Jaina

¹² His grant in *loc. cit.*

¹³ Bhagvānī's plates and Major Graham's Ins. No. 2

¹⁴ Ins. Nos. 1 and 5, Major Graham's Report

¹⁵ Grant of Bhoja II in *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ In the transcript of the inscription in Vol. IV Trans Lit Soc Bom we have Vīkṣhāna for Vijayā There is no question this must be a mistake of the reader of the inscription or of the engraver For the Kalachuri usurper at Kalavāṇi is called both Vijayā or Vijayā in his inscriptions, and there was none who about the date of Vijayārka obtained the position of a Chākrapāṇi or paramount sovereign, as stated in the inscription

¹⁷ Major Graham's Ins. Nos. 6, 7, 8, the grant, and Ind Ant, Vol. X, p. 76, note

¹⁸ There are, however, some mistakes here in the transcript of the grant and the sense is not clear, though it appears pretty certain that it was the village that was granted and not a field in it or anything else, from the fact that the boundaries of the village are given

Section XVI temples in other places also. Two of the grantees in one case at Kolhāpur are called Karahāṭakas, which shows that the caste of Karhāde Brāhmaṇs had come to be recognised in those days, and two others bore the family name of *Ghaisāsa*, which is now found among Chitpāvan Brāhmaṇs.¹⁹ In the reign of Bhoja II a Jaina Pandit of the name of Somadeva composed in Saka 1127 a commentary entitled *Śabdārnavachandril*²⁰ on Pūjyapāda's Sanskrit Grammar. The Kolhāpur chiefs enjoyed a sort of semi-independence. Vījyāna, the new sovereign at Kalyāna, however, endeavoured probably to establish his authority over Bhoja. But that chief was not content to be his feudatory, and to reduce him to subjection Vījyāna marched against Kolhāpur a little before his assassination in Saka 1089.²¹ On the establishment of the power of the Devagiri Yādavas, Bhoja seems similarly to have assumed independence, but Singhana subdued him completely, and annexed the principality to the Yādava empire.²²

Approximate date of the foundation of the Kolhāpur branch

The number of generations from Jatiga, the founder of the dynasty, to Gaṇḍarāditya is seven. The latest date of the latter is Saka 1058 and the earliest of his successor Vijayārka is 1065, so that, if we suppose Gaṇḍarāditya to have died in 1060 and allow about 27 years to each generation, we shall arrive at Saka 871 as the approximate date of the foundation of the family. At that time the reigning Rūshītrākūṭa sovereign was Kṛishna III, the uncle of Kakkala the last prince.

One of the many titles used by the Śilāhāras was

¹⁹ Ins No 8, Major Graham's Report

²⁰ Ind Ant, Vol X, p 76, note. The manuscript here mentioned is in the Dekkan College library and I have seen in it the colophon given in the note

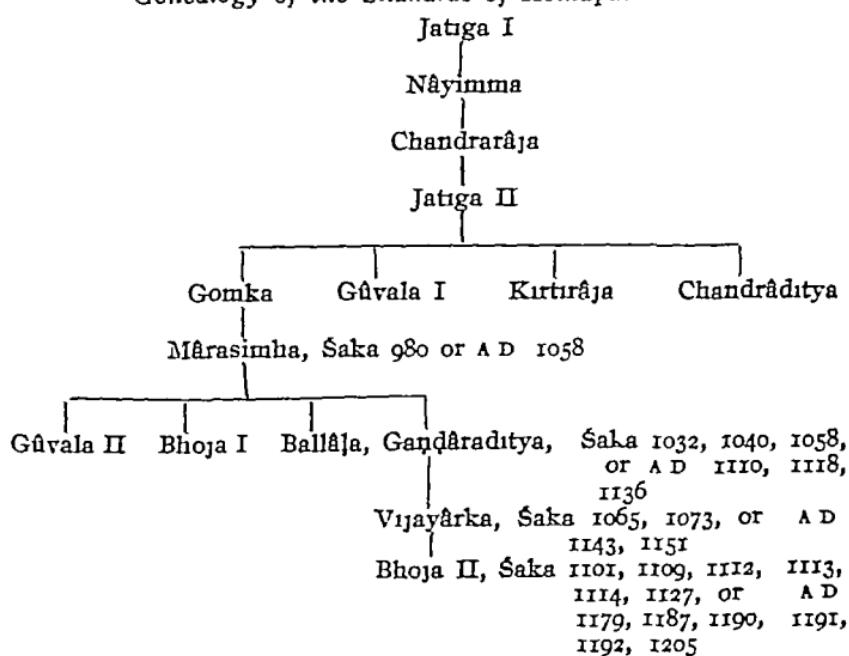
²¹ Vijalarāya Charitra in Wilson's Mackenzie MSS p 320

²² Sec XV

Śrīman-Mahālakṣmī-labdha-vara-prasāda, i.e. "one Section XVI who has obtained the favour of a boon from the glorious Mahālakṣmī" Mahālakṣmī was thus their tutelary deity, and they were clearly the followers of the Purānic and Vedic religion, but they patronized both Brāhmaṇas and Jainas alike, and their impartiality is strikingly displayed by the fact noticed above of Gaṇḍarāditya's having placed an idol of Buddha, whose religion had well nigh become extinct, along with those of the gods worshipped by the other two sects, on the margin of the tank dug by him

There are at the present day many Marāṭhā families of the name of Selāra reduced to poverty, and the name Selāravāḍī of a station [126] on the railway from Khanḍālā to Poona is also, I believe, to be traced to the family name of the sovereigns of Tagara

Genealogy of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur



[126] APPENDIX A

Note on the Gupta Era

Appendix A In order to render the chronologies of the different dynasties that ruled over western and northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era mutually consistent, it is necessary to discuss the initial date of the Gupta era. Albiruni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghizni in his invasion of Gujarāt in the early part of the eleventh century, states that that era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years, and that it was the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas. He mentions another era named after Balaba, the initial date of which was the same as that of the Guptas.

Now in some of the inscriptions of the Gupta kings and their dependent chiefs the dates are referred to *Guptakāla* or the Gupta era, wherefore Albiruni's statement that it was the epoch of their extermination cannot be true. This error is regarded as throwing discredit on his other statement, *viz.*, that the era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years. But it has nothing whatever to do with it. Albiruni must have derived his knowledge of the initial date from contemporary evidence, since the era of the Guptas was, as stated by him, one of those ordinarily used in the country in his time, and as his statements regarding the initial dates of the Vikrama and the Śaka eras are true, so must that with reference to the Gupta era be true. On the other hand, his information as regards the event which the Gupta era memorialized must have been based upon the tradition current among the Hindu astronomers of the day, who were his informants. Such traditions are often erroneous, as has been proved in many a case.

Albiruni was also informed that the Saka era was the epoch of the defeat of the Saka king by Vikramāditya. This was the tradition as to its origin among Indian astronomers, though it has now given place to another. For Soḍhala in his commentary on Bhāskarāchārya's Karaṇakutūhala, a manuscript of which more than four hundred years old exists in the collection made by me for Government during 1882-83, tells us that "the epoch when Vikramāditya killed Mlechchhas of the name of Sakas is ordinarily known as the Saka era." But we know that in Mangalīśa's inscription at Bādāmī it is spoken of as the era of the "coronation of the Saka king", that Ravikīrti in the inscription at Aihole describes it as the era of the Saka kings and that it is similarly represented in many other places. Albiruni's error therefore as regards the origin of the Gupta era no more invalidates his statement as to its initial date than his error about the origin of the Saka era does his statement about the initial date of that era. The only reasonable course for us under the circumstances is to reject the statement as to the era being an epoch of the extermination of the Guptas and accept that about the initial date of the era. But some antiquarians reject both these statements and accept what simply hangs on them and what must fall with them, *viz.*, that the Guptas were exterminated in Saka 242, and make elaborate endeavours to find an earlier initial date for the era. If the inscriptions show that the era was not posthumous but contemporaneous, we should rather believe that the Guptas rose to power in Saka 242, assigning its due value to the statement of Albiruni, which must have been based on contemporary evidence, that the era began in that year. But if instead of that we declare that they cease to reign in Saka 242, we in

Appendix A effect reject contemporary evidence and accept a mere tradition which in so far as it represents the era to be posthumous has been proved to be erroneous

Again, Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era and of the Valabhi era was the same seems to some not "at all probable" To [127] my mind the improbability is not so great as to render valueless what clearly is contemporary evidence We all know that the date occurring in a grant of one of the sons of the founder of the dynasty is 207, and we have a large number of grants of subsequent kings with dates posterior to this and in harmony with it So that it is clear that these dates cannot refer to an era dating from the foundation of the dynasty Such a long time as 207 years cannot be considered to have elapsed between the father who founded the dynasty and his son, even supposing him to have been a posthumous son The dates, therefore, are understood to refer to the Gupta era What, then, could have been the Valabhi era, if it was never used by the Valabhi princes during the 275 years or thereabouts of the existence of their dynasty? An era cannot receive the name of a certain line of princes unless used by those princes, at least on a few occasions, and enforced The era used by the Valabhi princes must be the Valabhi era One certainly would expect that it should be so The only supposition, therefore, on which the whole becomes intelligible is that the era introduced by the Valabhis in Surâshtra and used by them was called the Valabhi era by their subjects, and not one dating from the foundation of the dynasty, for such a one, we see, was not used by the Valabhi princes themselves The era introduced and used by the Valabhis was

that of the Guptas, whose dependents they were Appendix A in the beginning, and hence Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta and Valabhī eras was the same is true. From an inscription at Somanāth discovered by Colonel Tod, we gather that Śaka 242 was the first year of the Valabhī era. Hence, therefore, the initial date of the Gupta era was 242 Śaka, as stated by Albiruni.

The question in this way is, I think, plain enough. Still since astronomical calculations have been resorted to to prove the incorrectness of the date given by Albiruni and to arrive at an earlier one so as to place the extinction of the Gupta dynasty in Śaka 242, it is necessary to go into the question further. The following tests may be used and have been used to determine the correctness of a proposed initial date —

- 1 The date of Budha Gupta's pillar inscription at Eran, which is Thursday, the 12th of Āshāḍha, in the Gupta year 165
- 2 Rājā Hastin's inscription dated 156 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter being Mahāvaiśāka
- 3 Rājā Hastin's inscription dated 173 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāśvayuṇa
- 4 Rājā Hastin's inscription dated 191 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāchaitra
- 5 Rājā Samkshobha's inscription dated 209 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāśvayuṇa
- 6 An eclipse of the sun mentioned in the Morvi copper-plate grant dated 5th Phâlguna Śudi 585 of the Gupta era

Before applying these tests to the initial date given by Albiruni, it must be premised that according to the Arabic author the Gupta era was 241

Appendix A years posterior to the Saka. To convert a Saka date into a Valabhi date, or which is the same thing, into a Gupta date, he tells us to deduct from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5, that is, 241. And proceeding to give actual instances, he says 953 Saka corresponds to 712 Valabhi or Gupta. We have thus to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Saka date. Again, as I shall show in Appendix B, in inscriptions the numerical date indicates, in a large number of instances, the number of years of an era that have elapsed, that is, the *past* year and in about a third of the instances, the *current* year. The year of the cycle, however, whenever it occurs, is as a rule the current year, though in rare cases that also is the past year. If, therefore, a past Gupta year is to be converted into [128] the current Saka year, we shall have to add 242 to the former, while if both are current or both past, the difference between them is only 241.

Now, as to the first of the above tests, Gupta $165 + 241 = 406$ Saka. If Albiruni is correct, the 12th Āshāḍha Sudi of this year should be a Thursday. I asked my friend Professor Keru Lakshman Chhatre to make the calculation for me, and he tells me that it was a Thursday. Since our astronomical methods are based on the past Saka year, and even our present Saka year 1805 really represents, as I shall show in the next Appendix, the years that have elapsed, the current year being really 1806, Gupta 165 was a past year, as well as Saka 406. Hence only 241 has to be added. Saka 406 corresponds to 484 A.D. General Cunningham takes the Gupta 165 to correspond to 483 A.D., adding $240 + 78 = 318$ to it, and of course arrives at the result that "the 12th day of Āshāḍha Sudi was a Friday instead of a Thursday." If, however, he had added

Appendix A current year led sometimes the *past* year to be mistaken for the *current* year, just as we now mistake the year 1805 Saka for the current year, though it really is the completed or *past* year. Thus the completed year 157 must, in the case before us, have come to be mistaken by the writer of the inscription for the current year, and he thought 156 to be the *past* year and thus gave that instead of 157. Now $157 + 242 + 78 = 477$ A.D., which is *Mahā-vaiśākha*, according to the tables *

[129] The eclipse mentioned in the Morvi plate occurred, according to my friend Professor Keru Lakshmaṇ, on the 30th of *Vaiśākha*, Saka 827. The Gupta year given in the plate is 585. If S27 is in the astronomical calculation the *current* year, it must correspond to 585 Gupta *past*, for $585 + 242 = 827$. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the eclipse occurred on the new-moon day immediately previous to the 5th of *Phālguna* *Sudi* mentioned in the grant. For it is perfectly possible that the actual religious ceremony with reference to the grant was made in *Vaiśākha* and the deed executed in *Phālguna* †

* Though by using General Cunningham's table, I arrive at the desired result in three cases, still I now find that his current Christian year is derived by adding 78 to the past Saka, while I have added 79, i.e., the cyclic year given in the dates is true not of the Gupta year in the date as a *past* year but of the Gupta year + 1 as a *past* year. And the third date 173 Gupta is a correction of General Cunningham's, the actual date in the inscription being 163. I have, however, allowed the paragraphs to remain, as I am by no means quite satisfied that the question of these cyclic dates is settled beyond dispute (1894).

† There was an eclipse also in Saka 826 the new-moon day of *Kārttika*, so that Gupta 585 *past* + 241 = 826 Saka. This is evidently the eclipse mentioned in the grant and not that mentioned in the text. On the whole question

I have thus shown that Albirum's initial date for the Gupta era stands all these tests. It may even be said that it stands them better than 107 A.D. and 100 A.D. proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bryce respectively. But I am loath to decide such questions simply on astronomical grounds, for there are several very confusing elements involved, and a modern astronomer cannot know them all and make allowance for them.

It now remains to notice the last point relied on by the opponents of Albirum. The date on a copper plate grant by the last Śilāditya of Valabhi hitherto known is 447. This Śilāditya is also styled Dhruvabhrata in the grant and has been identified with the Tu-lu-ri po-tou or Dhruvabhrata of Hwan Thsing who visited Valabhi in 630 A.D. The date 447 is understood as referring to the Gupta era, and, 319 being added to it, corresponds to 766 A.D. It has therefore been argued that an earlier initial date must be assigned to the Gupta era so as to bring this Śilāditya or Dhruvabhrata nearer to the date of Hwan Thsing's visit. But the identification of the last Śilāditya with Hwan Thsing's Dhruvabhrata cannot stand. In the Si-yu-ki the Chinese writer does not speak of a *king* but of *kings*, and says they were nephews of Śilāditya of Mālā and the younger of them named Dhruvabhrata was son-in-law to the son of Harshavardhana. If they were nephews of the king of Mālā they were brothers and both of them kings. Now, the predecessor of the last Śilāditya of Valabhi was his father, and among the kings of Valabhi we do not find brothers reigning in succession at this period. There were two brothers who occupied the throne before this period, one of them

see my paper on the epoch of the Gupta era, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII, p. 80

Appendix A being named Dharasena and the other Dhruvasena. They were the sons of Kharagraha, and the younger of them was the father and predecessor of Dharasena IV. This younger brother or Dhruvasena must have been Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhaṭa. Nothing important is involved in the suffix *Bhaṭa*. It was a mere title or honorific termination as Pant and Rāv are among us the Marāṭhās. Sena, Simha, and Bhaṭa were the Valabhī honorific endings and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasena may have been called Dhruvabhaṭa by ordinary people, from whom Hwan Thsang must have got the name. Now, a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena bears the date 310, and the earliest date of his successor Dharasena IV is 326. The first corresponds to 629 A.D. ($310 + 241 + 78 = 629$), and the second to 645 ($326 + 241 + 78 = 645$). It is quite possible, therefore, that Dhruvasena was on the throne in 640 A.D. at the time when Hwan Thsang visited Valabhī.

[130] The initial date mentioned by Albiruni is thus consistent with everything with which it has been thought to be not consistent. I have shown that the statement of the Arabic writer is in itself entitled to our confidence, being based, as it must have been, on contemporary evidence, as his statements about the Saka and Vikrama eras were. I will now show that the date mentioned by him is alone consistent with the information we possess as regards the relations of the several dynasties that ruled over Gujarāt and Kāṭhīāwād in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the dates proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley are not. We know that the Guptas succeeded the Satraps, and the Valabhīs were at first dependents of the Guptas and afterwards attained independence.

Chandragupta II must have been the Gupta prince Appendix A who overthrew the Satraps, since he is the first prince of that dynasty whose silver coins are a close imitation of those of the Satraps. The latest date of that monarch is 283. This corresponds to 260 A.D. and 283 A.D. on the supposition that the Gupta era took its start in 167 A.D. and 190 A.D. respectively. Now, the latest date of the Satrap dynasty is 304. If the era to which it refers is the Saka, it corresponds to 382 A.D., that is, we shall have to suppose one of the princes of the dynasty to have reigned about a hundred years after the dynasty had been put an end to by Chandragupta II. The Saka era will therefore not do. Supposing the Satrap dates refer to the Vikrama era, 304 corresponds to 48 A.D., which of course is consistent with Chandragupta's date 260 A.D. or 283 A.D. If then the Satrap dates refer to the era of Vikrama, Rudradaman's 72 must correspond to 16 A.D. Rudradaman's grandfather Chashana will have to be placed about B.C. 4. But Ptolemy, writing after 150 A.D., tells us that Ujjaini was ruled over about the time when he wrote by Tiastenes, who has been very reasonably identified with Chashana. Ptolemy's information cannot certainly be 150 years old. It has, however, been argued that Ptolemy does not state that Tiastenes reigned about the time when he lived, and that he and Siro Polemios were contemporaries. For, he gives the information in the form of two short notes, "Ozone, the royal residence of Tiastenes," and "Baithana, the royal residence of Siro Polemios." Such notes it is possible that one should write even if the prince reigned several hundred years before him, as a modern geographer may mention Berlin as "the capital of Frederick the Great," or Ghizni as "the capital of Mahmud." As to this I have to observe

Appendix A that the analogy does not hold good. A modern geographer and his readers are very well acquainted with past history, while neither Ptolemy nor those for whom he wrote could have known the past history of India. A modern geographer knows which of the princes that ruled over a certain country in past times was the ablest or most powerful, and selects him out of a number and mentions his name in connection with a certain place. It is extremely improbable or almost impossible that Ptolemy should have known many Indian princes who reigned before he lived, along with their achievements, and should have chosen the ablest of them for being mentioned. And, as a matter of fact, we know that one at least of the rulers mentioned by him could be a person of no importance. For Baleocuros who according to him held power in Hippocura was, as we have seen, but a Viceroy or dependent of Pułumāyi and Gotamīputra Yajña Śrī, since as Vījavāyakura his name occurs along with those of the two princes on the Kolhāpur coins. Again, Ptolemy must have derived his information from merchants carrying on trade with India and these from the natives of the country. And we know that natives of India care very little for past history and [131] soon forget their kings. Hence the information derived by the merchants cannot have reference to princes who reigned long before the time of Ptolemy. It is possible that Indians may remember a celebrated prince for a century or two. But, as stated above, one of the rulers mentioned by Ptolemy was but a dependent sovereign and could not have been a man of note. The only other supposition that our opponents may resort to, is that Ptolemy's statements were based on those of previous geographers whose contemporaries the princes mentioned by him

were. No ground whatever has however been adduced in support of such a supposition. In the *Periplus* which was written before Ptolemy, Paithana and Ozene are mentioned, but Polemios and Tristenes are not. On the contrary, the author of that work says that Ozene was "formerly the capital wherein the king resided." If Tristenes lived before him, and Ptolemy's mention of the former was due to his having been a prince of note like Frederick the Great and Mahmud of Ghizni in modern times, we should expect the author of the *Periplus* to have noticed him especially when he does allude to the kings of Ozene. Tristenes, Polemios and Baleocuros must thus have reigned about the time of Ptolemy. The last two were, we know, contemporaries, and so also must the third have been.

In this manner the *Vikrami* era will not do for the Satrap dates. Besides, no trace whatever has hitherto been discovered of the use of that era in the early centuries of Christ. Since, then, the use of no other era at the time has been well authenticated, the Satraps must be supposed to have employed the *Saka* era. The circumstances of the country at that period render, as I have shown, the establishment of this era by the *Sakas* who ruled over the country in every way probable. The latest Satrap date will thus correspond to 382 A.D., and Chandragupta, the conqueror of the Satraps, can be rendered posterior to this only by taking 242 *Saka current* or 319-320 A.D. as the first *current* year of the *Gupta* era, for his 93 past will then correspond to 412-413 A.D. And in this way Rudradāman's 72 will correspond to 150 A.D., and Chashana's date will be about 130 A.D., i.e. anterior to the date of Ptolemy's geography by about 25 years.

Appendix A Thus, then, the evidence in favour of Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era appears to me to be simply overwhelming

[132] APPENDIX B

Note on the Saka dates and the years of the Bārhacshatra cycle occurring in the Inscriptions

There are certain difficulties with reference to Appendix B the Saka dates and the cyclic years or *Samvatsaras* occurring in the inscriptions which require to be cleared up. The current Saka year (A.D. 1883-84) in the Bombay Presidency is 1805, and the year of the sixty years' cycle, *Subhanu*. In the southern provinces and the Madras Presidency the current Saka year is 1806, the cyclic year being the same. The first question, then, is, "Do the dates in the inscriptions conform to the Bombay reckoning or the Madras reckoning?" and the next, "What is the cause of this difference of a year?"* We have also to consider whether the Saka dates in the inscriptions represent the number of years that have expired before the event recorded in them or the current year in which the event took place.

* It will be obvious to any careful reader that the manner in which the question here proposed for solution is stated, is based upon the ordinary view that Saka 1805 was the current year in 1883-84. I have no right to assume in the beginning of my inquiry that the ordinary view is mistaken, and it would be unscientific to do so. But having stated the question in that manner, I come at the end of my inquiry to the conclusion that the ordinary view is incorrect, and that 1805 Saka was not *current* in 1883-84 in but *past* and that the Madras way of understanding the matter alone is correct. In the previous note also I have stated that "we *must* not mistake the year 1805 Saka for the *current year*" (in 1883-84) so that there is no possibility whatever of any body misunderstanding my meaning.

Appendix B

Mr Robert Sewell of the Madras Civil Service gives in the first column of the Chronological Tables compiled by him the number of the Śaka years that have expired before the beginning of the cyclic year set against it in the same line in the third column. The current Śaka year corresponding to that cyclic year is the one given in the next line in the first column. Thus against Śaka 855, the date of the Śāngalī grant of Govind IV of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, we have in the third column the cyclic year *Vijaya* which shows that 855 years of the Śaka era *had expired* before the *Vijaya* year began, while the *current* Śaka year corresponding to *Vijaya* was that given in the next line, *viz* 856. Mr Sewell follows the Madras reckoning. If we interpret the tables according to the Bombay mode, the Śaka year appearing in the first column will be the current year corresponding to the cyclic year in the same line in the third column, while the number in the line immediately above will represent the years that have expired before the beginning of that cyclic year. Thus against 1805, the current Śaka year on this side of the country, we have in the third column the current cyclic year *Subhānu*, while 1804 in the line above shows the number of years that have expired. By comparing the Śaka dates and cyclic years occurring in the inscriptions with those in the tables we shall be able to determine the points raised above.

In the analysis of Pāli, Sanskrit, and old Kānarese inscriptions published by Dr Fleet and Dr Burgess there are 97 cases in which the Śaka date as well as the cyclic year are distinctly given. On comparing these with the tables I observe that in 58 out of these the given Śaka date occurs in the same line with the cyclic year mentioned in the inscription. These are —

[133] Nos 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 35, Appendix B
 36, 37, 38, 52, 70, 87, 88, 90, 92, 98, 99, 101, 102,
 100, 111, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136,
 141, 148, 149, 150, 154 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160,
 161, 183, 180, 201, 214, 215, 219, 220, 230 (first part),
 240, 241 243, 281, 286

Thus in inscription No 20, the date given is 1200, and the cyclic year the *Bahudhāniā*, both of which occur in the same line set against each other in the tables

In 28 cases the *Sakī* date given in the inscription occurs in the tables in the line below that in which the given cyclic year occurs. These are —

Nos 10, 22, 26, 33, 34, 47, 72, 80, 91, 95, 96
 (first part), 96 (second part), 100, 110, 111, 112, 118
 (first part), 118 (second part), 146, 151, 104, 227, 230
 (second part), 231, 234, 236, 237, 281

In No 19, for instance, the *Sakī* date is 1184 and the cyclic year *Durmati*. In the tables, *Durmati* occurs in the upper line set against 1183, and 1184 is in the line below, and *Dundubhi* is the year marked against it

Now on the supposition that the inscriptions conform to the Madras reckoning, in the first 58 cases the *Sakī* date represents the number of *Sakī* years that *had expired* before the current cyclic year of the inscription and in 28 it shows the *current* year of that era. If we suppose the Bombay reckoning to have been in use, the dates in the first 58 cases will represent the *current* year and those in the next 28, the *future* year and not the *past*. But since it is almost absurd to suppose that the immediately next year should be stated in the inscriptions, it follows that the Madras mode of reckoning was the one in use. The objection, however, may be obviated by supposing that these 28 cases conform

Appendix B to the Madras reckoning and give the current year, while the first 58 follow the Bombari mode. But this supposition is not reasonable or probable, since these groups are not confined to particular provinces, and often one of the former exists in the same district or even place with one of the latter. We thus see that though in the majority of cases the inscriptions give the *past* Saka year, there is a large number in which the *current* year is given and not the *past*.

I have also compared other dates with the tables, and the result I give below --

	Saka date	Cyclic year	What the date represents
Kinnaree grant of Govinda III, Rishikravati	726	Subhanu	Current year
Rishikarpur grant of Govinda III	730	Sarvatit	Do
Krishna II or Vaidhavarsa completion of the Jaina Purana	820	Pingala	Do
Do, in a Jaina temple by Chittartha	821	Dandubhuti	Year elapsed
Govinda IV, Sangali grant	825	Vijaya	Do
Kakkala Fadi grant	828	Angirasi	Do
Tulipura rock inscription	829	Shimulini	Do
Sitayatra Kharapitam plates of Ratta	930	Kilaka	Do
Jyestishtha Jyestada mill, Miraj grant	936	Ratnakshi	Do
Miraj mill, Silahara of Kolhapur, grant	980	Vishvambini	Do
Gandharidava Silahara of Kolhapur, Ins.	1032	Vishviti	Do
Gandharidava Silahara grant translated by bright Bharat Sali	1032	Virodhini	Current year
Do, Kolhapur Ins. No 2	1040	Vishvambini	Year elapsed
Vijayadashami No 4	105	Dendebhi	Current year
Someshvara III, Bhadrapuram mill, V. J. I. Ins.	106	Sivamati	Year elapsed
Christmann			

	Saka date	Cyclic year	What the Saka date represents
Bhojadeva II, Kolhâ-pur Ins No 6	1101	Vilambin	Current year
Bhojadeva II, Kolhâ-pur Ins No 8	1112	Sâdhâraja	Years elapsed
Bhojadeva II, Dr Taylor's grant	1113	Virodhin	Do
Bhojadeva II, Kolhâ-pur Ins No 8	1114	Paridhâvin	Do
Sînghana Yâdava, Khedrâpur Ins	1136	Śrimukha	Current year
Kâmvadeva Châlukya	1182	Raudra	Years elapsed
Mahâdeva Yâdava, Pandharpur Ins	1192	Pramoda	Do
Râmachandra Yâdava, Thânâ	1194	Angiras	Do
Râmachandra Yâdava, Thânâ	1212	Virodhin	Current year

Out of these 24 dates, eight give the current year and the rest the years that had expired, the proportion being the same as in the other case, *viz* 1 to 2. In all cases in which the cyclic year is given it is possible to determine whether the date represents the current or past year, but not in others. The inscriptions of the early Châlukyas do not give it, and hence the exact date remains doubtful.

Now the Bombay mode of reckoning, which is one year behind that prevalent in Madras, is, I believe, due to a mistake. We have seen it was more usual in recording a date to mark the years that had expired than the current year. A word expressive of that sense such as *gateshu*, "having elapsed," was used after the number, and another such as *pravartamâne*, "being current," was used in connection with the name of the cyclic year. These words were, for brevity's sake, afterwards dropped, and in the course of time the sense, to express which

Appendix B they were used, was also forgotten, and the number came to be regarded as denoting the current year. So that what we do on this side of the country is that we use the *past* or *expired* year without knowing that it is the *past* year. And there are in the inscriptions instances of mistakes due to the circumstance that the real *past* year came to be regarded as the current year. Thus in No. 86 of the Pâli, Sanskrit, and old Kâñarese inscriptions, Saka 911 is given along with the cyclic year Vikrîti. Now, according to the tables, the number of years that had expired before Vikrîti was 912 and the current year was 913. This discrepancy is to be explained by the supposition that Saka 912 which represented the years that had expired came to be thought of as the current year, just as we, on this side of the country, consider 1805 as the current year now, though it indicates the past year, and the writer of the inscription wishing to give the years that had expired before his current year, put them as 911. The same is the case with Nos. 27, 67, 115, 130, 224, and 284, the Saka dates in which are 1444, 1084, 1430, 1453, 1114, and 1128, respectively, and are two years behind the current year as determined by the cyclic years given along with them. In some cases the Saka dates are in advance of the *Samvatsara* or cyclic year by one year. Thus in the Vâpi-Dindori grant of Govinda III the Saka date is 730 and the Samvatsara *Vyaya*, and in the Kâñheri inscription of Amoghavarsha we have Saka 775 and the *Prajâpati* Samvatsara [135]. Now the Saka years immediately preceding *Vyaya* and *Prajâpati* were 728 and 773, while the current years were 729 and 774 respectively. This difference might be accounted for on the supposition that the *current* years 729 and 774 were from the usual custom understood to be

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past years and the writers of the documents desirous Appendix B
of giving the *current years added 1 and put them*
down as 730 and 775. The date in No 79 of Pâli,
Sanskrit, and old Kâñarese inscriptions is three
years behind the current Samvatsara, and that in
No 228, four years. No 221 has 1113 for 1121, and
No 246, 1492 for 1485. These must be considered
to be mistakes

The Saka dates given in the preceding pages
represent in most cases the years that had expired
before the particular occurrences mentioned. Thus
"in 855" means *after 855 years of the Saka era had*
expired

[136] APPENDIX C

Introduction to Hemâdri's Vratakhaṇḍa

Appendix C

In the critical notes D represents the MS in the Dekkan College Library, No 234 of A 1881-82, D 2 another recently added to the collection, S the MS belonging to the old Sanskrit College, No 657, Kh the MS belonging to Khâsgivâle, and G the MS procured by Gangâdhar Sâstrî Dâtâr. See Section XIV, first page, note 2

* श्रीगीपालमपारवैभवभवस्त्वच्छन्दलीसात्य
 सान्द्रस्त्रिग्वधसमालकीमतदलश्चामाभिरामाहतिम् ।
 कूजाकीकिलकामिनीकलरथप्रीहासिगीपाङ्गमा-
 गीतस्त्रीतपविच्चिच्चिच्चित्रित्रातं ममस्तुमहे ॥ १ ॥
 उम्मीलालकमनीयकान्तिसरसीमध्ये विवृहप्रभं
 सारासारविचारचारचारमनसा हसेन संसेवितम् ।
 निष्यानन्दपरागसङ्गतुभगे वन्दारवन्दारक-
 १ २
 श्रेष्ठैभङ्गमनङ्गवैरिच्चरणाम्भीजद्यं पातु व ॥ २ ॥

* These two stanzas exist only in a mutilated form in S and D 2, but they occur fully in D and Kh which contain the shorter Praśasti. In G, which contains both the Praśastis mixed together, they occur at the head of the shorter one, so that they appear to belong to the latter rather than to the other.

१ सङ्ग for भङ्ग D Kh २ व for व D Kh

Râjaprasasti I

१ जीयाश्रूतममूतसर्गसमयाविभावसभाषना-
 २ तुप्यत्प्रभुलङ्गपुङ्गविश्वर श्रेष्ठैश्वर्त्वन्दिस ।
 कल्पान्तीपरमेषु नामिकमले प्रीद्वामसामसर-
 स्त्रैरोद्धारोणचारणाहितविचित्याधूतनिद्रो हरि ॥ १ ॥

१ जीयाश्रू० S जीवङ्ग० G २ ०द्वल० S तुप्य० G

अस्ति प्रश्नं पुरुषो भूमस्य श्यागर्हं द्वीरमय पर्याप्तिः ।
यदीयपीयूषरसायनेन स्वर्णोक्तमानामजरामरत्वम् ॥ २ ॥
संतानचिन्तामणिकामधेनुकल्पद्रुमशीलमनेकहितो ।

सिन्धोरसुधादुद्भूदमद्विस्त्रान्दमानामृतविन्दुरिन्दुः ॥ ३ ॥

२ ततस्तमुर्म विवृधप्रधान दुध मुधादौषितिरप्यसूत ।

३ वभूष तस्माद्य चक्रमर्तीं पुरुरवा पुख्पथामुवर्तीं ॥ ४ ॥

४ अभजत अभिस्थादायुरायुः प्रजामा
नसुषपदिनिदाम ज्योतिरासौचतोपि ।

[137] शृपतिरथ यथाति स्थातिसानप्यमुषा

५ दयमपि यदुमूर्तिं कौतिंमाविश्वकार ॥ ५ ॥

यदोरदोषविशदैर्यंशोभिरभिशोभित
भन्दवाय स एवायमवाप यदुवृश्वाम् ॥ ६ ॥

तत क्रोधा तस्मादशनि इजिनीवानपि वृप-

सतो नशे राज्ञः वितिपतिरिह स्वाहित इति ।

६ वृश्वकुस्तपुष समभवदयो चिचरथ इ-
ततो नात ख्यात स किल शशविन्दुनरपति ॥ ७ ॥

ततः पृथुश्वा दोरक्षदनन्तरमन्तर ।

७ तत सुयज्ञ उशना सितेयुरिति च क्रमात् ॥ ८ ॥

सुतुस्तथ मरुत इत्यनुपम प्रीष्मादीर्विक्रम-

८ स्तथारकम्बलवर्हिंशुक्लयश प्रसालितस्माततु ।

९ यत्कादुदियाय रुक्मिकवचस्तथात्पराजिगृह्य-

१० क्षमाहूर्तिरुग्मेष्वसुक्षती राजाज्ञि ज्ञामय ॥ ९ ॥

११ ततो विद्मं क्रदकुलिहृष्णिनिहृष्णिसंज्ञा परतो दशाहं ।

१२ व्योमा ष औमूर्त इति क्रमेण नाता भरेन्द्रा विहृतिश वौर ॥ १० ॥

१३ वदतु भीमरथ पृथिवीपतिर्वरथश ततो रथिनां वर ।

१४ दशरथ शकुनिश करभिरित्युपदिशनि पुराणपरायणा ॥ ११ ॥

१० मानो G मानी S २ प्रतार्प for प्रधाने G ३ र वा० for पधा०
S D2 ४ जन S D2 जसि G for जनि ५ मूर्ति S D2 मूर्ति G
६ स्वाहित S स्वाहित G ७ यशा S G ८ मेषि S G ९ व्योमाह S
व्योमाय G वोमाह D2

१ देवराजसत् श्रीमान्देवचेचक्षतो मधु ।

२ यत् कुरुत्वा राजा पुरुषोऽस्मादमत् ॥ १२ ॥

३ ४ अथायुरामीदय साततोभृदयाम्बकीप्राहजमामर्ज ।

५ विद्वरथमत्परतोपि शुरराशि प्रतिष्ठय इति चितीग ॥ १३ ॥

वभृदय स्वयंभीजमतोपि एतिकीभवत् ।

असूत्र सोपि धमाया राजान् देयमीदुपम् ॥ १४ ॥

गिन्निगनि गौपितवेतिपूरमत् चिति पालयति एव गृह ।

ततोपि राजा वसुटेवनामा यो विश्वरूपीरपि उतुरासैत् ॥ १५ ॥

हन्तारहन्तारकहन्तमानिमन्दारमालामुरभी क्षतादि ।

६ आमीदमुम्मासुरायतारभागपद्माराय पुरा सुरारि ॥ १६ ॥

[138] यमत् प्रश्नन् किम् कुमुमधन्वा मधुरिपो-
मिलोकोरीरोसी तमयमनिरुद्ध प्रसुपुषे ।

७ ततोभृदयचपष्टिपुर्णमैव महसा

८ परिम्मुकुर्वन्न शतमत्तसरा प्रादरभवत् ॥ १७ ॥

वन्नस्य मनु प्रतिष्ठाहरामीहामीकृतस्नापतिष्ठक्रवाल ।

९ ततोपि समाडभयरमुदाह प्रामृत सोय षतुरम्भुजाम् ॥ १८ ॥

१० सेन त मार्दभीमेन रामया विनयानिता ।

विभव्य वसुभाषक चक्रिर् प्रथिवीयरा ॥ १९ ॥

११ यदाविभागे वसुभासर्गया तेषां तदा पालयती चतुर्णा ।
हठरक्षरी दिग्मि दक्षिणमा प्रभर्वभूष प्रथमारकभीयान् ॥ २० ॥

1 अराम D 2 २ माम for राजा G ३ मततो D 2
४ अक्षया० G S ५ So both MSS, also D 2 But there
must be a mistake. The name of Surya's son राजि is dis-
puted १० राजि. Perhaps the reading is श्रावीदी ६ दूरा मृगी
S दृगि D 2 ७ न for ए८ D 2 ८ अरिम्मुकुर्वन्न ९, G totally
incorrect and there is a lacuna D 2 has वसु for वन of
१० ११ The Puranic genealogy ends here. Sushma, १२-
१३, is there called Sushma १० दोयवति D 2

सर्वेषि पूर्वे मधुराखिमाया लक्ष्मादितो दारवतोश्वराम्भे ।
सुधाहुमुमारनु दधिदाशाप्रशासिनी यादवक्षमोरा ॥ २१ ॥

Appendix C

तत्त स राजा निजराजधानीमधिष्ठित श्रीनगरं गरोय ।
भूमि मुहूर्ते सुउद्धवन्नमध्य यत्संज्ञया सेत्पटेशमाह ॥ २२ ॥

८ प्रथ धाडियमा भट्टीपतिम्मयमस्य यमृष्य भिष्मम् ।

२

९ अजनिट ततोपि राजगिमद्भु प्रादुरभूत्य यादुगि ॥ २३ ॥

३

१० उने धाडियमन्त प्रतिभट्टापादामकालानन्द-
मप्पादाविरभूत्यमृतविभवो भता भवो भिष्मम् ।
११ एतम्याम्बद्धमा नहालिखिरसौ श्रीदिसुगिर्जिवान्

४

१२ इला भोपमभजोन्नमामसुहद्दी तमादमुद्दुग्म ॥ २४ ॥

१३ अजरमाविष्टसदामवारि प्रभुतद्भार्चितदामवारि ।

१४ तत्त स राजा विरराज राजद्यियो विलासैर्जितराजराज ॥ १५ ॥

१५ आसोदिनामो शृपतरमुमारस्य भिष्मम् पात्तिवितीरकीर्ति ।

५

१६ स यादुगि सादुगिरा करीना भोवेकपाव भवति य तमान् ॥ २६ ॥

६

१७ ततो मर्दा मधीपाल पालयामासु वेसुगि ।

०

१८ महात्मेयदुहामभामसामन्तसत्तरि ॥ २७ ॥

१९ ततोपि शृपभिष्मम् समरसोमभीमक्षिया-
निर्गमनभजार्गलायुगमः लुलालालय ।

[139] तत्त समदमेदिनोपतिपतद्भद्रवत्

८

२० प्रतापश्रिगिसदित्तिविजगदद्वय सेत्पट ॥ २८ ॥

९

२१ समुद्रतो दिन भहामुल्लिन हियो विमर्दारपरमर्दिदेव ।

२२ आत्मापि चालुक्यकुलप्रदीप कल्याणराजेषि स एव देव ॥ २८ ॥

१ शाश्वगिमद्गत D २ स वाहुगि S सुवाहुद्युष G ३ This is the reading of S, D and G probably for धाडियस But the name according to Pandit Bhagvānlāl's grant was धाडियप ४ S and G have a wrong and unintelligible reading here ५ पाव S पावे G for पावे ६ The visarga is dropped in S and G ७ संहस D ८ S G have लघित विजग ९ रमुहतो D १०

१ परम्परेव स गतो यमुन दिव्याधूनेव घमासुहृष्टी ।

२ प(८) रम्पदेव रुची चयेन यस्य प्रसापेन चिर व्यराजि ॥ १० ॥

३ तथादत्तरमनन्तमुजप्रताप चोषीपति समभवस्य इ सिंहराज ।
४

५ तथानुजमदनु भवत्य वलीयानवायस विजगतीविजयी स राजा ॥ ११ ॥
६ शुक्षीपुरारसमानीय कर्पूरतिलक गजम् ।

७ स कर्पूरतं पूर्वमकरोपरकर्दिन ॥ १२ ॥

८ तथादप्रतिमस्योभ्यादगिर्वादभ विते ।
९ उद्भूष्यत जग्मार्गिर्विदोन्तु उचितिमा ॥ १३ ॥

१० आसाद्य सुय सनिग्रहसुदितो श्रीपर्वतेन्द्र तगरं शिष्य ।

११ अद्वारि विनोटकम्भमिष्यालादसुप्रसातङ्गठा हटेन ॥ १४ ॥
१२ तथादमरगदेय समभव भव पति ।
१३ अद्यरिद्वा गाविन्द्रराज सागावयम् पदम् ॥ १५ ॥

१० ११

१४ तथो गालगिप्योभृष्ट पालोमरमणगि ।

१५ अय कालीयवामाल पालयामास मिदिनी० ॥ १६ ॥

१६ महीदतेन्द्रम विदाय प्रयोग्य गुणानुरक्ता यदुथग्नाची ।

१७ श्रीमित्रं तथ तस पितृव्यमयान्तराज्ञु जमाकगाम ॥ १७ ॥

१८ १९

१८ य श्रीवर्द्धनमासमाट तगरं चोषीपतेर्गतात्

१९ य प्रद्युम्नमूर्त च समर दुष्ट व्यवट चयात् ।

१ ततो for एमा ५ G ६ Here S ends, and the following is based on G and D 2, of which the former is, as I have already observed, an extremely incorrect manuscript ७ प्रताप G ८ महीदि G ९ This word in G must be some transposal as it has no significance here D 2 has दृष्टाम् १० नोनामुत्ती न निति for मनिति G ११ तग्राम् १२ चित्राम् १३ सनिग्रह in G १४ अद्वारि D 2 १० अमारि D 2 ११ अमारा १२ १३ म D 2 for य १४ रम्पाम् for रम्पानि G

१

यो वा मङ्गलवेष्टक चितिपतिं श्रीविष्णुं अप्निवान्

२

कल्याणश्रियमप्यवाय विद्वे यो होसलेश व्यसु ॥ ६८ ॥

[140] स दण्डिकाममङ्गलमर्खयित्रीमकम्पस परप्रभवैर्विष्णुसे ।

३

चक्रे पुरे देवगिरि गिरीशप्रसादस सादितदिवाशक्ति ॥ ६९ ॥
तदनु मदनमूर्ति कार्णिंकीचन्द्रसान्द-

४

दुनिविशदयशोभि श्रीभिताशावकाश ।

अभवदवनिपालो लोवपाल कराल

प्रहरप्तरणरङ्गतुङ्गदुमुङ्ग व्यष्टि ॥ ४० ॥

५

दीक्षित्वा रथरङ्गदेवयज्ञने प्रोदस्तशस्तसुव
श्वीभिर्जगतीन्द्रुतवता येन प्रतापान्तु ।

६

तिष्ठुराखिपते पश्चीर्विश्वसम रौद्रस्य रौद्राक्षते

कृत्वा पूरुषमेधयश्वविचिना खम्स्त्रीलोकीजय ॥ ४१ ॥

७

तथादभूदभिनवमरचारमूर्ति

कीर्ते पद स किन्तु सिङ्गदेवभूप ।

उद्धुखदोर्युगलग्नितवैरवीर-

८

सीमन्तीवदनकेरवचण्डभानु ॥ ४२ ॥

येनानीयत मत्तवारणघटा अज्ञाहम्भिद्धत

कक्षुलादवनैपतेरपहसा येनाविराजाश्चिय ।

येन चोषोभृदर्जुनीपि बलिमा नीत कथाशेषता

येनोद्धामभुजेन भोजनृपति काराजुरुषीकृत ॥ ४३ ॥

९

यद्रष्मागिरिकेसरी विनिहतो खच्चीधर आपति-

यद्वाहावलिभि प्रसद्य रुद्धे खाराधराधीश्वर ।

१ १ वक्त्रिण for विष्णु G २ G has वसु and D २ व्यस for व्यसु
 ३ In the MSS we have प्रसादमासादित ४ G has विकाश
 for अवकाश ५ रथरगतगदुषग D २ ६ तत्त्विंग in G ७ रौद्रस्य
 ought to be रुद्रस्य unless the son of Rudradeva is meant
 ८ कौर्ति for मृति D २ ९ This line is thus written in G
 सीमन्तविनोदनकेरवचण्डभान्, also in D २ except त् for last न्
 १० यहगारिग G ११ विनिहता G

यदीयगम्भिपगरुपालीनिष्ठातदानाम्बुतरद्विष्टोपु ।
 साम समुद्भवपेश्वलापि भमज्ज छन्ये सह कुटुर्णेश ॥ ५० ॥
 सोमोखदुनमेव यम्य उगता स हार इत्युच्चने
 कुदे वज्जधर्मपि य चितिभृत मिनाकमवायत ।
 आर आरम्ममुप्य दु सहमह मदोहदावामल
 तेनाभानिधिनापि कुटुणपतिनारर्च कृचिद्वित ॥ ५१ ॥
 बाह्यानामपि यम्य वेरिविषयेवातवसा धन्विना (ताः)
 भातिस्तिइत्पाद्याणादनुदिनं बाह्याद्यनीनाभवत् ।
 यम्य व रणे जहार करिणम्यवश्वादिकान्
 यन्त्याज वधुवधादुपरतस्त्वं भज रुदमाम ॥ ५२ ॥

Appendix C

Rājaprasasti II

धर्मो हिमाशोर्ज यति प्रसिद्धो यमिम स राजा यदुराजिराजान् ।
यमुव यथिक्ष्वसुरावतारभारापहाराय पुरा मुरारि ॥६॥
वशो तर्स्माक्षमिव्यमतय लालीपाक्षा भिमस प्रादरामोग् ।
मिन्ये भाग नेरिम्भुष्यतद्वाव्यस्यानेकार्णीपदीप्रताप ॥८॥

[142] नमो भवत्सुक्त्वाजसुसाज्जौलामापिक्षद्विपिदिवापितपादम् ।
उद्वामदपरिद्वसर्दविहद्राज ज्ञामिद्वाटविषया नमि विवराम ॥५॥
तप्मादभूद्विमव्यमरव्याकूर्मूर्ति कार्त्तं पद जगति सिद्धपर्वेवभूप ।
१
उद्वामद्वायुग्लगवित्वेविग्नीविद्वन्वहे विवराम ॥६॥
पद सकलकलामामालय पाल्यनाय वित्वित्वमवसार्द द्वैत्तमामोद्दीप
प्रभवदविषया । ज तुग्निमाम तप्मादसमस्तरधारद्विभूपामहाम ॥७॥
स भूमियाला जनयावभूव हर्ष महादरमहीयति ।
द्वित्याय साक्षम यदा पदाधिदिनामि हीमुभमप्युदारम ॥८॥
जन्मालरोलं परिवर्त्यनो उत्तापदत्तं किं वीतुहन
हृतावतारी यदुराजवा द्विदा दत्तमापिद रामहणी ॥९॥
धमापापिव तौ मासाद्यामदनी वहु धराम् ।
विश्वावद स्वाक्ष सुप्तार राजामी रामभूती ॥१०॥
ट्यद्वारामविवारत्तरात्तरात् पुरि वा एव ।
दासोहर तप्तापरद्विती तप्मादवामवरपौरम् ।
इत्य दापिद्वारात्तरात्तिविवदन्वारप ॥११॥

११। इति शुक्रपाद वृषभदत्ति राम इत्याम वृत्ति ॥

କୁଣ୍ଡଳ କାନ୍ଦିଲା କାନ୍ଦିଲା କାନ୍ଦିଲା

३

आने मणितदण्डकापरिचर श्रीमेत्याख्या परं
देशः पेशलवज्ज्मूर्यपवचीमापुर्ध्वयाकृति ।
ताप्यम्बद्य विगिरि पुरो विजयते वैक्षोवयसारशिया।

४

विश्वानि सुरशालिश्वरश्वरस्पर्शुसौधावलि ॥ १८ ॥
द्वग्रायीत्तग्रायग्निं शास्त्रा समस्तावनिमण्डलस्य ।
द्वीमामिसामन्त्रयागावधानो सायं महादेवश्चपा यिमर्ति ॥ २० ॥
कुर्वन्निमूलिकिमाः रिमाहससमयियन् ।
प्रधितिहति इमादिरिमा द्वद्वधवान्धव ॥ २१ ॥
सा स पतिदिव यग्ना ग्लमिदं सायं प्रसापो महा-
र्क्षक वृद्धिर्भूमिं भूवि महादेवस्य लाकाशरम् ।

५

६

यस्य नीकरणाधिप स्वयमर्थं हेमादिसूरि परं
श्रीटप्रा तमवर्थमानावलसहशो भूङ्गं श्रीभते ॥ २२ ॥

इति राजप्रथमा ॥

३ सेवनात्मा D सेवणात्मा Kh The middle letter of the name
in G looks somewhat like ठ but there is little question that
the copyist had ठ before him and made it appear like ठ by
producing the nether curve and making its end touch the
knot of ठ ४ अर्धाम् D ५ सद् D २ ६ अहं for अय D २

P 32 n 17 For D R Bhandarkar who agrees in this conclusion, see *Jour Bo As Soc*, Vol XXIII pp 69-71 and *Ind Ant*, 1918, pp 152-153. For a different view, see R D Banerji, *Jour R As Soc*, 1917, p 279 & ff and H C Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp 311-313.

Pp 33-34 The correct form of the name Sakasena is Siri-Sâta,—D R Bhandarkar, *Ind Ant*, 1918, pp 155-156. For another inscription of Gautamî Yajñâ-śrî-Sâtakarnî, see G Bühler, *Ep Ind*, Vol I p 95 f, and N G Majumdar, *Jour Beng As Soc* (NS), Vol XVI p 328 & Pl. Two more Sâtavâhana inscriptions have been since published, one by Sten Konow, *Zeit Deut Morg Ges*, Vol LXII p 592 and the other by V S Sukthankar, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV p 155.

Pp 34-35 For the different views about the family of the princes who issued the coins found at Kolhâpur, see *Ind Ant*, 1920, p 31 & ff.

P 36 & n 23 For the correct reading and interpretation of the coin, see E J Rapson, *Jour R As Soc*, 1905, p 797 & ff.

P 42 & ff For the Kshatrapa rule in the Dekkan and the restoration of the Sâtavâhana empire set forth in Section VI, read also D R Bhandarkar's *Dekkan of the Sâtavâhana* in *Ind Ant*, 1918, pp 69-78 and 149-156, and H C Ray Chaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, p 305 & ff.

P 49 & n 8 As regards Sâtakarnî of the Girnar Inscription (*Ep Ind*, Vol VIII pp 44, 1 12), see the various views set forth in *Jour Bo As Soc*, Vol XXIII p 66 & ff.

P 51 & ff As to the Purâna texts relating to the Andhrabhritya dynasty, see F E Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p 35 & ff. For comments on the texts, see V A Smith and S M Edwardes' *Early History of India*, p 230 & ff.

burgesses of Perigere Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV p 190

(2) Š 609 —jejuri (Poona Dist, Bombay Presidency) Plates of Vinayāditya (9th regnal year) Ed by D R Bhandarkar, *Ep Ind* Vol XIX p 63

(3) Š 617 —Pātodā (Punjab) Plates of Vinayāditya (14th regnal year) Noticed by D R Bhandarkar, *Ind Ant*, 1911, p 240

(4) Š 625 —Rāygaḍ (Kolaba Dist, Bombay Presidency) Plates of Vijayāditya (8th regnal year) Ed by K B Pathak, *Ep Ind*, Vol X p 15

(5) Š 672 —Kendūr (Poona Dist, Bombay Presidency) Plates of Kirtivarman (II) (6th regnal year) Ed by K B Pathak, *Ep Ind*, Vol IX p 202

P 96 For a more detailed history of the Arab invasion see p 20 & ff of the *Gurjara-Pratihāras* by R C Majumdar, in *Jour Dept Letters* (Cal Univ), Vol X

P 106 ff For epigraphic records connected with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa, see Nos 53—107 of F Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India* Some of the inscriptions published thereafter are

(1) Š 690 —Taṭegaon (Poona Dist, Bombay Presidency) Plates of Kṛishnarāja (I) Noticed by D R Bhandarkar, PRAS WC, 1913, p 54 Ed by Sten Konow, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIII p 279

Mentions his son Prabhutunga Govinda (II)

(2) Š 694 —Bhāṇḍak (Chanda Dist, C P) Plates of Kṛishnarāja (I) Ed by V S Sukthankar, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV p 123

(3) Š 697 —Pimpāṭī (West Khandesh Dist, Bombay Presidency) Plates of Dhārāvarsha-Dhruvarāja Ed by K B Pathak, *Ep Ind*, Vol X p 85

(4) Š 701 —Dhulia (East Khandesh Dist, Bombay Presidency) spurious (?) Plates of Suvarṇavarsha Pratāpaśīla Karkarāja, son of Dhruvarāja,

younger brother of Prabhūtavarsha (-Govinda II) to whose reign it refers itself

(5) S 715—Daulatabad (Nizam's State) Plates of Samarāvaloka Śaukaragaṇa, son of Nanna, who was brother of Kṛishnarāja (I) and son of Karkarāja Charter issued with the consent of Kalivallabha-Narendradeva (Dhruva-Nirupama) Ed by D R Bhandarkar, *Ep Ind*, Vol IX p 195

(6) S 793—Sanjān (Thana Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of Amoghavarsha (I) Ed by D R Bhandarkar, *Ep Ind* Vol XVIII p 243 & ff

(7) S 818—Kunimellihaṇṇi (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Mahāsāmantādhipati Karna-vallaha who seems to be the Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishna II-Akālavarsha Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 277 ff

(8) S 851—Kaṭas (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIII p 326 ff

(9) S 868—Tuppad-kurhatti (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Akālavarsha-Krishna III Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV p 364 ff

(10) S 868—Kyāsanūr (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of king Kannara (the Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishna III—Akālavarsha) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 280 ff

(11) Kyāsanūr (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Kandaravallabha, i.e Kannara or Kṛishna III Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 283

(12) S 884—Devīhosūr (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Akālavarsha Kannara-deva (the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 285-286

(13) Kyāsanūr (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presi-

dency) Inscription of the time of Nityavarsha-Amoghavarsha who is the same as Nityavarsha-Khoṭṭiga Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 284-285

P 112 & n 19 For a detailed discussion and historical importance of the passage from the *Jaina Harivamśa*, see J F Fleet, *Ep Ind*, Vol VI p 195 and ff

P 136 For the epigraphic records connected with the Later Chālukyas of Kalyānī, see Nos 140-274 of F Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India* Some of the inscriptions of this dynasty published thereafter are

(1) S 929 —Hoṭṭür (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Akalaukacharita-Īśivabedāṅga Chālukyā Satyāśraya Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 74 ff

(2) S 393 —Sudī (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Trībhuvanamalla-deva, i e Chālukyā Vīkramāditya V Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV p 75-77

(3) S 933 —Ālūr (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Trībhuvanamalla-Vīkramādītva V Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 27 ff

(4) S 950 —Kuṭēnūr (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Jagadekamalla-Jīvasimhī (II) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV p 329 ff

(5) S 963 —Śirūr (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Jagadekamalla i e Jīvasimhī II Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV pp 334-335

(6) Lal shmeshwar (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Jagadekamallī II Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 44 ff

(7) S 959—Hoṭṭūr (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Jayasimha (II) Jagadekamalla Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 75 ff

(8) S 960—Hulgūr (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Jagadekamalla (Jayasimha II) and the Yādava Kanhara Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 332 ff

(9) Yewūr (Gulbarga Dist, Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Jagadekamalla, i.e Jayasimha II Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XII p 269

(10) Miraj (Miraj State, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XII p 309 ff

(11) S 977—Bankāpur (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Chālukya emperor Trailokymalla-(Somesvara I) and the Kadamba *Mahāmandalesvara* Harikesari-deva Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIII p 168 ff

(12) S 973—Sudī (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Chālukya Trailokymalla (Somesvara I) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV pp 77-80

(13) S 976—Sudī (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Chālukya Trailokymalla (Somesvara I) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV pp 80-83

(14) S 980—Sudī (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Someśvara I Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV pp 83-85

(15) S 981—Sudī (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Chālukya Trailokymalla Someśvara I Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV pp 85-94

(16) S 975—Muḷgund (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay

Presidency) Inscription of the time of Trai^{lo}kyamalla
 i e Someśvara I Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*,
 Vol XVI p 53 ff

(17) S 974 —Nīralgī (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay
 Presidency) Inscription of the time of Trai^{lo}kyamalla-
 Āhavamalla i e Sōmēsva I Ed by L D Barnett,
Ep Ind, Vol XVI p 66 ff

(18) S 988 —Hoṭṭūr (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay
 Presidency) Inscription of the time of Trai^{lo}kyamalla-
 Āhavamalla (Someśvara I) and Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara
 Jemarasa Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI
 p 82

(19) Tilvalli (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency)
 Inscription of the time of Trai^{lo}kyamalla (Someśvara
 I) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI
 pp 337-338

(20) S 966 and 1067 —Hūli (Belgaum Dist,
 Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of
 Āhavamalla (Somesvara I) and Jagadekamalla (II)
 Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII
 pp 172-3

(21) S 991 and 997 —Sudī (Dhārwār Dist,
 Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of
 Bhuvanaikamalla (Someśvara II) Ed by L D
 Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV pp 94-96

(22) S 996 —Sudī (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay
 Presidency) Inscription of the time of Bhuvanai-
 kamalla (Someśvara II) Ed by L D Barnett,
Ep Ind, Vol XV pp 96-100

(23) S 993 and 994 —Gāwarwād (Dhārwār Dist,
 Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of
 Bhuvanaikamalla, i e Somesvara II and Mahā-
 mandalesvara Lakshmarasa (Lakshma or Lakshmana)
 Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV p 337 ff

(24) S 993 and 994 —Annigeri (Dhārwār Dist,
 Inscription of the time of Someśvara II Ed by
 L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV pp 347-348

(25) S. 1006-07—Niralgi (Dhārwar Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Chālukya king Bhuvanekamalla (Somesvara II) Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 69 ff.

(26) Nigagundi (Dhārwar Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla—(Vikramāditya VI) and the Kadamba prince Tulipī II Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 12.

(27) Iṭṭagi (Dhārwar Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of (Western Chālukya) Vikramāditya VI Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 36 ff.

(28) Narendra (Dhārwar Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI and the Kadamba Mahamandalesvara Jayakesin II Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 298 ff.

(29) Mutgi (Bijapur Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of (Western Chālukya) Tribhuvanamalla (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 25 ff.

(30) S. 1006—Sudi (Dhārwar Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla vallabha (Vikramāditya VI) Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 100-103.

(31) S. 1006—Sudi (Dhārwar Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla vallabha (Vikramāditya VI) Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 103-105.

(32) Sudi (Dhārwar Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 105 ff.

Of the 38th year of his reign

(33) Gadag (Dhārwar Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Chālukya Vikramāditya

VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV
p 348 ff

Of the 23rd year of his reign

(34) Lakshmeshwar (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla i.e. Vikramāditya VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI pp 31 ff

Of the 27th year of his reign

(35) Lakshmeshwar (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI and his feudatory Kadamba Taila III Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 35 ff

(36) Lakshmeshwar (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 58 ff

(37) S 999—Hulgūr (Dhārwār Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 329 ff

(38) Hūli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII p 178 ff

Of the 7th year of his reign

(39) S 1019—Hūli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII p 182 ff

(40) Hūli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII p 189

Of the 29th year of his reign

(41) S 1029—Hūli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvana-

malladeva i e Vikramādītva VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII p 196

(42) Hüli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII pp 199-201

Of the 32nd year of his reign

(43) Hüli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalladeva (Vikramāditya VI) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII pp 201-205

(44) Nilgunda (Bellary Dist, Madras Presidency) Inscription of the time of Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramādītva VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XII pp 150-155

(45) Yēwūr (Gulbarga Dist, Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of Western Chālukya king Vikramādītva VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XII p 274 ff

(46) Yēwūr (Gulbarga Dist, Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramādītva VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* Vol XII p 329 ff

(47) Yēwūr (Gulbarga Dist, Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramādītva VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* Vol XII p 332

(48) Yēwūr (Gulbarga Dist, Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of Vikramādītva VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* Vol XII p 334

(49) S 1095 and 1103—Kurgod (Bellary Dist, Madras Presidency) Inscription of the Western Chālukya Somesvara [IV] Tribhuvanamalla Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* Vol XIV p 265 ff

P 160 & ff For the epigraphic records connected with the Kalachuris of Kalvāna, see Nos 275-300 of F Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India* Some of the inscriptions of this dynasty published thereafter are

THE KALACHURIS

(1) Hul (Belgaum Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Kalachurva king Tribhuvanamalladeva (Bijjali) Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII pp. 20^c 212

(2) S. 1081 - Hul (Belgaum Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of king Bijjali Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII p. 212 ff

(3) Yewur (Gulbarga Dist., Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of the Kalachurva king Rāyanutrī-Soideva Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII p. 336

(4) Iṣṣīgi (Dhīrūpī Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Kalachurva king Śukladeva Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII p. 50 ff

(5) Sudi (Dhīrūpī Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Kalachurva Śankarī Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV p. 107 ff

(6) Yewur (Gulbarga Dist., Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of the Kalachurva king Śukladeva Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII pp. 338-339

(7) Mutgi (Bīgewīdī taluk of Bijapur) Inscription of the time of Kalachurva Bhūlāmī Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV p. 32 ff

P. 205 & n. 60 Jñānadeva was a descendant (*sula*) in the pupil's line, that is, really a disciple of Nivṛittinātha. At the conclusion of his work he says that Nivṛittinātha was a pupil of Gahūmānātha and that the latter was a pupil of Gorakṣanātha who himself was a pupil of Matsvendranātha. If Jñānadeva's date was Śaka 1212 (=1200 A.D.), Gorakṣanātha has to be placed about the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

